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Early Cola Architecture & Sculpture

DOUGLAS BARRETT

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866-1014 A.D.

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PREFACE

The introductory chapter to my *Early Cola Bronzes* was a sketch of the development of Early Cola architecture and sculpture. Since its appearance my friend S. R. Balasubrahmanyam has published two books on the period. The first, *Early Chola Art,* covers the architecture and sculpture of part of what I call the First or Aditya I Phase. The second, *Early Chola Temples* (A.D. *907–985*), covering the period to the end of the reign of Uttama Cola, appeared when my text was complete. However, our interpretations of the chronology and development of Early Cola religious art diverge so widely that I have thought it necessary to write in criticism of the many major and minor points of difference between us.

This book is the result of some dozen cold-weather tours in South India: without doubt an inadequate period of exploration and study especially in the southern part of Tamilnadu where the temples are as thick on the ground as parish churches in England. But I believe I am familiar with a fair part of the Cola achievement, whatever is thought of my interpretation.

I am again indebted to the many friends and colleagues who helped me with my earlier book, in particular, R. Nagaswamy, G. S. Gai and P. R. Srinivasan. I am especially grateful to K. Nagarajan, generous host at Pudukkottai and close friend of many years, who has taught me so much about the land and people of South India.

I would not have been able to write this book without the affectionate encouragement of Madhuri Desai, Leena Jhaveri and Soli Batliwala, which has continued over a period of well-nigh twenty years. To them it is offered as an inadequate but sincere tribute.

DOUGLAS BARRETT

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South India 14

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ABBREVIATIONS

Balasubrahmanyam, 1963	S. R. Balasubrahmanyam, *Four Chola Temples,* Bombay, 1963
Balasubrahmanyam, 1966	S. R. Balasubrahmanyam, *Early Chola Art,* Part I, Bombay, 1966
Balasubrahmanyam, 1971	S. R. Balasubrahmanyam, *Early Chola Temples* (A.D. *907–985*), Bombay, 1971
Barrett	Douglas Barrett, *Early Cola Bronzes,* Bombay, 1965
Mahalingam	T. V. Mahalingam, *Kancipuram in Early South Indian History,* Madras, 1969
Manual	K. R. Venkataraman, *A Manual of the Pudukkottai State,* Pudukkottai, 1938–1944
Sastri	K. A. Nilakantha Sastri, *The Colas,* Madras, 1955
Sivaramamurti	C. Sivaramamurti, *South Indian Bronzes,* Delhi, 1963
Srinivasan	K. R. Srinivasan, *Cave Temples of the Pallavas,* New Delhi, 1964
Subramaniam	T. N. Subramaniam, *South Indian Temple Inscriptions,* Madras, 1955

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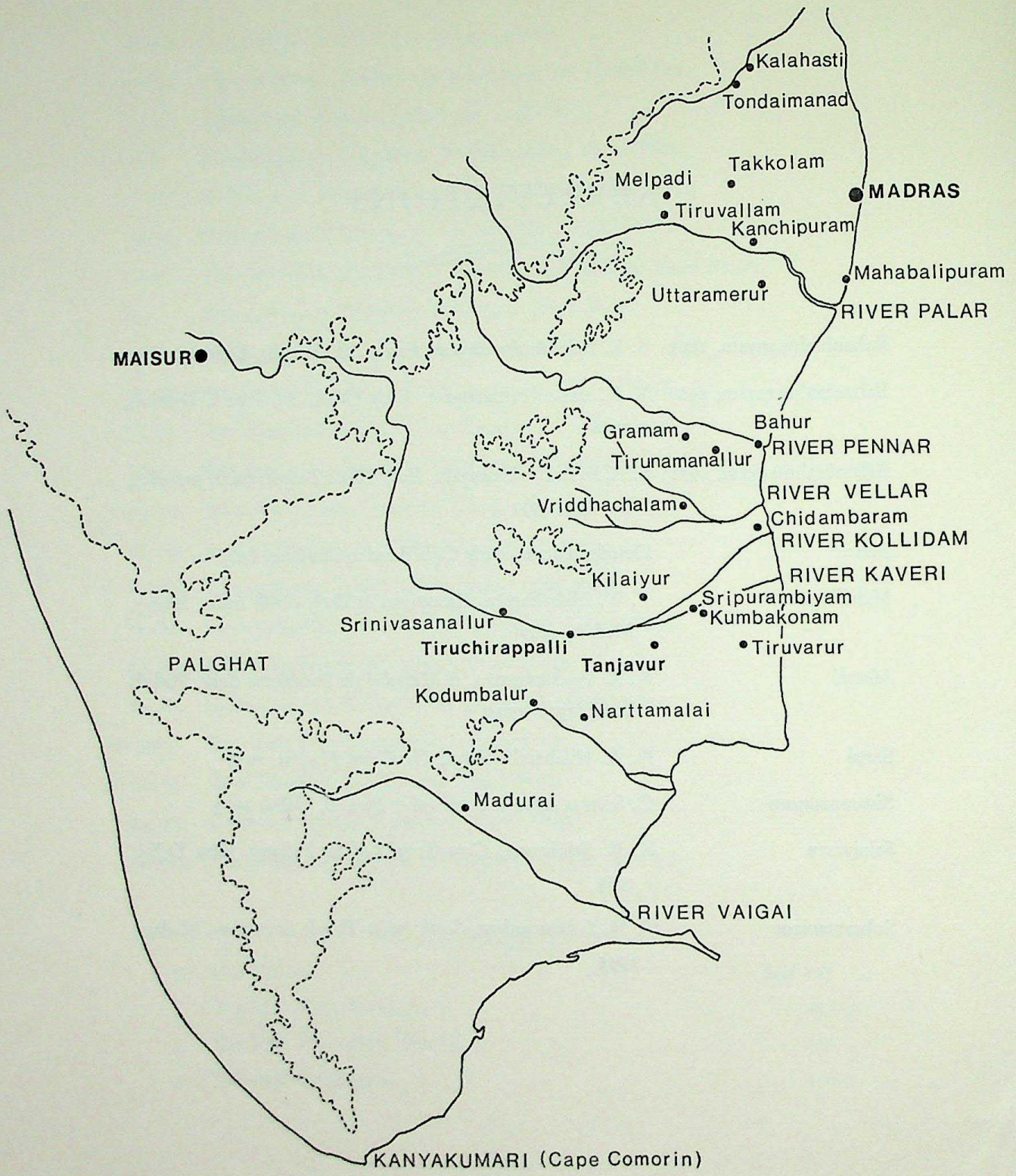

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INTRODUCTION

The South Indian peninsula is separated from the plains of North India by the double barrier of great rivers, the Narmada, Tapti and Mahanadi, and their flanking ranges, the Satpura, Mahadeo and Maikal Hills. One of the oldest land-masses in the world, it forms a vast triangle with its base against the northern barrier and its two arms meeting at the Nilgiri Hills in the south of Maisur State. This triangular block of ancient rocks supports the high plateau of the Deccan, up to 2,000 feet above sea-level and rising towards the south. The high western scarp of the plateau falls swiftly through the spectacular Western Ghats or Sahyadri Mountains to a narrow strip of very wet lowland along the Arabian Sea which catches most of the south-west monsoon. South of the Nilgiri Hills is the twenty-mile-wide Palghat, the single break in the continuity of the Western Ghats which continue as the Anaimalai Hills to Kanyakumari (Cape Comorin) the southernmost tip of the subcontinent. To the west of the Nilgiri and Anaimalai Hills climate and a good alluvial soil combine to support the diversified agriculture and heavy population of the State of Kerala, linked in ancient times as now with the east coast of South India mainly through the Palghat. The eastern edge of the Deccan plateau is in strong contrast to the western. The hills are interrupted and lower, and the slope gentler to a wider strip of coastland. North of the State of Tamilnadu the Ghats swing inwards to the Nilgiri Hills. The widening coastal plain from Kalahasti to Kanyakumari is the land of the Tamils and with Kerala, the true South India.

The Tamil plain, in the lee of the Anaimalai Hills and the Deccan plateau, derives little benefit from the south-west monsoon apart from the freshets in the rivers which rise in the Western Ghats. Unlike the rest of India the heavy rains fall in October to December, the result of severe coastal storms. The rainfall is usually up to 40 inches but sadly variable, and most rivers contain little water for nine months of the year. Very early in his history the Tamil farmer learned to contruct artificial ponds or 'tanks' to supplement the irrigation provided by the rivers. Some tanks were made by a simple mud dam across a small stream; others were vast lakes, excavated and masonry-lined, the planned enterprise of the ruler himself. It is in the basins of the main rivers where there was also an associated system of tank irrigation that the early kingdoms of South India mainly flourished.

There were three such kingdoms. In the north of the Tamil plain lay the region known as Tondaimandalam with its capital at Kanchipuram on the River Palar. Its boundaries extended from Kalahasti to the River

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Pennar and included the modern districts of Chittoor, Chingleput and North with part of South Arcot. In the far south the capital of Madurai, on the River Vaigai, controlled all the country from the Southern Vellar River to Kanyakumari. Between Tondaimandalam and Madurai lay the basin of the Kaveri. The greatest and the most sacred river of South India, it rises in Coorg, high on the Deccan plateau, and flows eastward in the plain for upwards of 150 miles from Karur to the sea. Dividing into the Kaveri and the Kollidam (Coleroon) at the island of Srirangam near Tiruchirappalli, it branches repeatedly to cover the whole of the Tanjavur delta. Its flood-waters were used for irrigation by the earliest farmers throughout its length but especially in the Tanjavur and Tiruchirappalli Districts. This is Colamandalam, the Land of the Cola, a word familiar to English ears as Coromandel, later used to describe the whole coast from Madras to the River Kaveri. It is in Colamandalam that the temples described in this book are mainly concentrated.

Between the Deccan plateau and the wide alluvial plain which supported the three kingdoms, are isolated hills of crystalline rock, characteristic 'inselberge' of the geologist. These hills provided the hard stone from which the Cola craftsmen invariably carved their sculpture and built their temples.

The history of South India up to the end of the sixth century A.D. hardly concerns us here. There is still little material evidence to bring alive the picture of a flourishing civilization given by the superb Tamil literature of the 'college' of poets known as the Sangam. However, even by the third century B.C. three of the four great dynasties which were to direct the history of South India were already known: the Cera of Kerala on the west coast, the Pandya of Madurai and the Cola with its capital at Uraiyur, a suburb of modern Tiruchirappalli Town. The one dynasty which does not find mention at this early date or indeed in the Sangam literature of the first three centuries of our era, is the Pallava, which, when we can see things clearly, has the centre of its power in Tondaimandalam with Kanchipuram as capital and its main seaport at Mahabalipuram, south of Madras. From about A.D. 600 to A.D. 860 the two great powers were the Pallava and the Pandya while Colamandalam owed allegiance to whichever was the stronger. So far as can be judged from a few isolated references, the Cola, powerful in the Sangam period, managed to survive as a small border feudatory alongside a rival dynasty, the Muttaraiyar, which had its capital at Tanjavur. In the seventh century A.D. the dominant power was generally the Pallava, in the eighth century A.D. the Pandya. By the third quarter of the ninth century A.D., when the imperial line of the Cola begins to emerge, both kingdoms were in decline.

Though South India formed a distinct and homogeneous land and culture it was not, of course, isolated. Within the larger context of the peninsula the political history of the Tamils is a continuous pattern of rivalry and war with the powerful states of the northern Deccan, the Calukya of Badami (A.D. 543–755), the Rashtrakuta of Manyakheta (A.D. 752–973) and the Calukya of Kalyani (A.D. 973–1200). Both aimed not so much at the permanent occupation of the other's territory, as the control of the smaller feudatory kingdoms between the River Tungabhadra and Tondaimandalam, to secure their frontiers and a base for the great raids undertaken for prestige and booty.

The art of South India from about A.D. 600 to A.D. 860 is represented by numerous cave-temples cut into the gneiss and granite outcrops of the Tamil plain, first by the Pallava in the seventh century A.D. and then, an even richer series, by the Pandya in the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. Though the Pallava craftsman's

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control of the hard stone was such that he was able to carve huge boulders into monolithic temples, for his structural temples he preferred a less intractable coarse sandstone, using flat slabs of the granite only for important mouldings of the base. It is not until the early ninth century A.D. that we find him carving the complete base of a structural temple in granite, and not until the end of the century constructing a temple wholly of that material. The structural temples of the Pallava make a fine series from the late seventh to the late eighth century A.D., but the ninth century A.D. is very thinly represented. Moreover, on the structural temples the use of sandstone, which weathers badly and has often been covered with protective stucco, makes it difficult to trace the development of Pallava sculpture after the early eighth century A.D. Unfortunately no structural temples of the Pandya seem to remain from this period. Many were dedicated, as we know from inscriptions, but generally built of brick and timber with embossed metal bracing, they have either been reconstructed in stone or, like the domestic architecture, succumbed to the ravages of the climate.

To this temple architecture, both rock-cut and structural, the Muttaraiyar in Colamandalam, following mainly Pandya example, seems to have made a small but definite contribution. There is however no monument which can confidently be attributed to the Cola before the sudden rise of the imperial line in the second half of the ninth century A.D. Power once achieved, an original style both in architecture and sculpture was fully realized within a generation: a style called here Early Cola and covering the period from the accession of Vijayalaya, the first of the line, about A.D. 866 to the death in A.D. 1014 of Rajaraja I, the greatest of the Cola kings. I shall attempt to show that there are three Phases in the development of the style: a First Phase from about A.D. 866 to A.D. 940, a Second from about A.D. 940 to A.D. 970 and a Third from about A.D. 970 to A.D. 1014. The First Phase may also be called the Aditya I Phase after the king in whose reign the mature style was fully realized, and the Third the Sembiyan Mahadevi Phase in compliment to the queen who was its most munificent patron. Though the Third Phase is clearly distinct in style from the First, the Second Phase is essentially a period of transition. I intend it to represent not a sharp division between the First and Third Phases but a movement, assured or tentative, from one mode of expression to another. The dates I give it are formal, as in all attempts to interpret the growth of a living tradition.

It is essential to stress the originality of the style, especially of its First Phase. Many scholars include all architecture and sculpture both in Tondaimandalam and Colamandalam up to the end of the ninth century A.D. under the rubric 'Pallava style'. This is acceptable for the two complete monuments and the few groups of sculpture of the second half of the ninth century A.D. in Tondaimandalam, where the Pallava dynasty maintained some sort of position into the first decade of the tenth century A.D. It does not, however, help to explain the style of the score or more temples in Colamandalam built before or about A.D. 900, which share little with the Pallava style, except of course the general elements of construction and detail common to all South Indian monuments. If a source for the Early Cola style must be looked for outside the particular genius of the Early Cola craftsman, it would perhaps be more rewarding to continue the search further south in Pandya country. Some scholars[1] who extended the 'Pallava style' in Colamandalam up to A.D. 900, postulate also a 'Pallava–Cola transition' from A.D. 900 to A.D. 950. In other words, their Early Cola Period begins

[1] The clearest presentation of this view is by Karl Khandalavala, 'The Chronology of South Indian Bronzes', *Lalit Kala*, No. 14.

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where my First Phase ends. In rejecting this interpretation I shall emphasize the unity no less than the originality of the First Phase. However these scholars give support, perhaps unintentionally, to the division I have made, especially in sculptural style, between the First and Second Phase about A.D. 940.

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I

THE EARLY COLAS

(c. A.D. 866–1014)

All, or virtually all, the evidence for the history of the Early Colas is derived from stone inscriptions and copper-plate grants. Both are primarily concerned to record endowments to the temples and their administration, and any historical information they may give is usually incidental. The copper-plate grants often include a brief account of the reigning king and his predecessors, but this being formal and eulogistic requires cautious interpretation. The endowments of the royal family and the nobles were magnificent: the fabric of the temple itself, flower and fruit gardens, costly jewellery, and images and ritual vessels in bronze and precious metal. The income from whole villages might be used to maintain daily worship and to celebrate special festivals. Ordinary men and women made more modest endowments to provide *ghi* and oil for burning lamps in the temple. The records of these endowments, inscribed on the walls of the temple or on separate stones, were, during our period, scrupulously kept and maintained. On the rare occasions when administration became lax or misappropriation was suspected, some great official would come to put things right. The inscriptions were usually dated in the regnal year of the king. Unfortunately for us, the Colas bore the title, alternately, of Parakesari and Rajakesari, and unless other titles or names are given which can be associated with a particular individual, the identity of the reigning monarch is often obscure. Here palaeography is useful but by no means conclusive.

Clearly no account of the Early Colas will command universal acceptance. Some conjecture is inevitable, but I shall try to keep it to a minimum, except where it seems radically to affect the art history of the period. Students of Cola history will appreciate that for the first two reigns, of Vijayalaya and Aditya I, I lean heavily on the analysis of the complex evidence by T. N. Subramaniam, K. R. Srinivasan and Professor T. V. Mahalingam. I accept here K. R. Srinivasan's dates for the late Pallavas Nripatunga (*c.* A.D. 859–99) and Aparajita (*c.* A.D. 885–903), but remain unconvinced that Nandivarman III and Tellarrerinda Nandi were two separate rulers. Therefore, I date Nandivarman III *c.* A.D. 836–59. Professor T. V. Mahalingam has cogently argued that the crux in later Pallava chronology presented by the well-known inscription at Lalgudi (120 of 1928–9) will advance the dates of Nandivarman III, Nripatunga and Aparajita by ten years.[1] While this little affects the art history, it does make the last twenty years of Aditya I's reign more difficult to interpret.

[1] Mahalingam, pp. 202–3.

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For the remainder of the Early Cola period I prefer generally to follow the interpretation of Professor K. A. Nilakantha Sastri.

All sources treat Vijayalaya, a Parakesari, as first of the imperial Cola line, but the evidence for his reign is very small. In the Tiruvalangadu Plates of year 6 of Rajendra Cola (A.D. 1012–44) he is said to have captured Tanjavur and consecrated there the goddess Nisumbhasudani (Durga). An inscription at Tirunedungalam (Tiruchirappalli District) mentions a gift of land in accordance with an earlier grant of Parakesari Vijayalaya Coladeva (675 of 1909). A hero-stone at Viracolapuram, near Kilur (South Arcot District) is dated year 3 of a Parakesari Tanjai-kotta (who took Tanjavur)[1] (51 of 1935–6). A gift of year 4 of Vijayalaya is specifically mentioned in an inscription of year 5 of Vikrama Cola (A.D. 1118–35) at Kilputtur in Wandiwash Taluk of North Arcot District (164 of 1915). All other inscriptions of Parakesari are attributions, but it should be mentioned that a Pandya inscription of A.D. 1228 gives the name of Vijayalaya Colisvara to a famous temple at Narttamalai (Tiruchirappalli District). Vijayalaya then had a reign of at least four years during which, operating perhaps from Uraiyur, the ancient Cola capital, he seems to have taken Tanjavur, presumably from the Muttaraiyars. The accession of his son Aditya I is fairly securely fixed in A.D. 870–1, so we may place the beginning of Vijayalaya's reign about A.D. 866. Though Professor Nilakantha Sastri, followed by Balasubrahmanyam, gives Vijayalaya a reign of some twenty years, he rejects,[2] rightly in my opinion, the main evidence for such a view: a disputed passage in the Madras Plates of Uttama Cola (A.D. 969–85) which has been taken to mean that Vijayalaya had a reign of at least twenty-two years and was in occupation of Kanchipuram, the Pallava capital. Admittedly the appearance of undisputed Vijayalaya inscriptions as far north as Viracolapuram and Kilputtur is puzzling, but on present evidence it seems fair to assume that Vijayalaya's reign was brief and his success limited to Colamandalam. It is perhaps not without significance that inscriptions at Lalgudi and Narttamalai, both in Tiruchirappalli District, are dated respectively in years 2 and 7 of Nripatunga, Pallava suzerainty being thus recognized in Colamandalam in about A.D. 860 and A.D. 865. Further, the Bahur Plates of year 8 of Nripatunga seem to describe the Pallava as aiding an unnamed Pandya in the defeat of a confederation of enemies on the banks of the River Aricit near Kumbakonam (Tanjavur District). Inscriptions dated in the regnal years of the Pallava or Pandya rulers do not seem to reappear in Colamandalam until about A.D. 874. This period will accommodate Vijayalaya's reign when he felt strong and independent enough to date records in his own regnal years, and the accession of his son.

Aditya I, a Rajakesari, succeeded in A.D. 870–1. There seems to have been no immediate expansion of the Cola kingdom. Indeed, during the first half of Aditya I's reign, from his fifth to his fifteenth year, inscriptions dated in the regnal years of the two great powers are found in the heart of Colamandalam: year 13 (A.D. 874) of the Pandya Varaguna II at Tiruvellarai, Lalgudi and Javanthinathapuram (Tiruchirappalli District) and years 21 to 24 (about A.D. 880–3) of Nripatunga at Kandiyur, Tiruchchennampundi, Lalgudi and Tirukkodikaval (Tiruchirappalli and Tanjavur Districts). It looks as if the Cola was compelled to revert in some

[1] This interpretation is, however, questioned by Subramaniam, Vol. III, Part I, p. LXIII. [2] Sastri, p. 166, Note 77.

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measure to the role of feudatory, though K. R. Srinivasan surely goes too far in asserting that no Rajakesari inscription before about year 15 should be attributed to Aditya I.

About A.D. 885 was fought the Battle of Sripurambiyam near Kumbakonam, in which the Pallava Aparajita with the assistance of his Ganga ally Prithivipati I gained victory over the Pandya Varaguna II. Since there is some evidence that Nripatunga and Varaguna II were allies up to about A.D. 877, it looks as if the battle was a successful attempt to dethrone Nripatunga, whose inscriptions cease after his twenty-sixth year only to reappear in one isolated instance in his forty-first year at Madavalam in the far north of Tondaimandalam. We may assume that Aparajita took over the Pallava kingdom, but his inscriptions which go up to his eighteenth year are confined to the northern part of Tondaimandalam. Aditya I's part in the Battle of Sripurambiyam is nowhere indicated, but he clearly took advantage of the dynastic quarrels of the Pallavas. He is almost certainly referred to in an undated Rajakesari inscription at Tillaisthanam (Tanjavur District) as the Cola king who overran or pacified Tondaimandalam. The Tiruvalangadu Plates claim that he overthrew the strong Aparajita and took possession of his kingdom. Again the Kanyakumari inscription of Virarajendra Cola (A.D. 1063–9) states that he killed in battle a Pallava seated on an elephant. Inscriptions from his twenty-first to twenty-seventh years are found in North Arcot and Chingleput Districts, so we may be sure that he was campaigning in Tondaimandalam either against Aparajita or on his behalf from A.D. 890 to A.D. 897. Aditya I's latest inscriptions are dated in his twenty-seventh year, and we are mainly ignorant of his activity between this date (A.D. 897) and the accession of his son Parantaka I in A.D. 907. Aparajita probably survived until A.D. 903 and if he is the Pallava mentioned in the Kanyakumari inscription, Aditya I must have spent some time in Tondaimandalam, strengthening his grip on the Pallava territory. We know that he died at Tondaimanad in Chitoor District at the extreme northern limit of Tondaimandalam.

The absence of inscriptions during what we presume was the last ten years of his life remains a problem.[1] One thing, however, is clear: while Aditya I had begun his career as a relatively unimportant feudatory, at his death the Cola had replaced the Pallava as one of the two great powers of South India. Aditya I was not without allies in his success. He was on good terms with Sthanu-Ravi, the Cera King of Kerala, who probably supported the Cola occupation of Kongudesa, the region of the upper reaches of the River Kaveri between the Western Ghats and Colamandalam. On the northern border Prithivipati II, the grandson of the Ganga Prithivipati I, who fought and died for Aparajita at the Battle of Sripurambiyam, acknowledged Cola suzerainty by year 24. Aditya I had several wives including a Pallava princess. His senior queen was Ilagon Pichchi, who was probably a daughter of the Rashtrakuta King of the Deccan Krishna II (A.D. 879–914). Aditya I's son Kannaradeva was probably by her, but was passed over in favour of the junior Parantaka. Like all his line, Aditya I was a devout Sivaite and is credited with the building of many temples.

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Parantaka I, a Parakesari, succeeded in A.D. 907 to an inheritance which included the whole of Colamandalam and Tondaimandalam and probably Kongudesa. He proceeded immediately to the removal of the one

[1] If, as Professor T. V. Mahalingam believes, Aparajita survived until A.D. 913, Aditya I may also have lived up to that date or later. Joint rule by father and son is fairly common in Cola history. This makes, of course, the absence of Aditya I's inscriptions after his twenty-seventh year even more puzzling.

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obstacle to Cola supremacy in the South, the Pandya Rajasimha II (*c.* A.D. 900–20). He assumed the title of Maduraikonda (the Captor of Madura) as early as his year 3, but the war itself was protracted. Though supported by Ceylonese troops Rajasimha II was disastrously defeated at the Battle of Velur about A.D. 915, and soon after fled to Ceylon. The settlement of the conquered territory continued, but it is not until his year 24 that Parantaka I's inscriptions are found in the Pandya Kingdom. He had adopted the title of Maduraiyum Ilamumkonda (the Captor of Madura and Ceylon) by A.D. 923 but did not attack Ceylon until the latter part of his reign. The invasion seems to have been merely a large-scale raid and had no permanent result.

In these campaigns in the South Parantaka I received help from the ruler of Kerala, the Paluvettaraiyar chieftains of Kilappaluvur and the Irukkuvel chieftains of Kodumbalur. All three were related by marriage to the Cola house, while the two latter are important as patrons during our period. Parantaka I was also involved in fighting early in his reign on the northern frontier. It looks as if Krishna II, resenting the supplanting of his grandson Kannaradeva by Parantaka I, invaded Tondaimandalam with the support of the Banas and the Vaidumbas, the feudatories of the northern marches.

About A.D. 911 Parantaka I, with the assistance of the faithful Prithivipati II, fought and won a decisive battle at Vallala, the modern Tiruvallam (North Arcot District). The Bana Kingdom was handed over to Prithivipati II, the Vaidumbas reduced, and Parantaka I assumed the title of Vira Cola (Hero of the Colas). The northern frontier secured, the Cola was now the paramount power in South India.

Parantaka I seems early to have realized that Rashtrakuta reaction to the upsetting of the balance of power in South India was inevitable. From about A.D. 935 he kept powerful forces stationed in the region between the Rivers Vellar and Pennar known as Tirumunaippadi-nadu (War District), which not only provided the first line of defence for Colamandalam but were admirably placed for swift movement to the north. The army was commanded by his eldest son Rajaditya, who was supported by his brother Arikulakesari and an able Kerala general, Vellangumaran. About A.D. 940 Prithivipati II died and was succeeded by Butuga II, brother-in-law and close ally of Krishna III, who had just come to the Rashtrakuta throne and was to prove an exceptionally capable and vigorous ruler.

The sequence of events in the next ten years, which led to the temporary submergence of the young Cola empire and the loss of most of the territory gained by Parantaka I and his father, is not entirely clear. Vellangumaran was still in the 'War District' in A.D. 943 : presumably the kingdom was peaceful and the army intact, for he was engaged in building one of the most important of Early Cola temples at Gramam on the south bank of the River Malattar in South Arcot District. However two inscriptions dated in years 5 (A.D. 944) and 7 (A.D. 946) of Krishna III at Siddhalingamadam[1] (South Arcot District) and Peruvayal (Chingleput District) give him the title Kachiyum Tanjaiyum-konda (the Captor of Kanchipuram and Tanjavur). There is no other evidence to suggest any disruption of normal life in Colamandalam at this early date, and Parantaka I's

[1] The Siddhalingamadam inscription, like the Sudi Plates, which state that Butuga II having conquered Rajaditya assaulted Tanjavur, has been regarded as spurious.

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inscriptions are found in the Arcot Districts of Tondaimandalam up to A.D. 948. The weight of evidence, especially in the well-known Solapuram and Atakur inscriptions, seem to indicate that the decisive encounter took place in A.D. 949 at Takkolam (North Arcot District). In this battle the Cola army was routed by Krishna III, and Rajaditya himself killed by Butuga II. The fact that no inscription of Parantaka I dated in his years 42 to 44 (A.D. 949–51) has been discovered anywhere in the kingdom is perhaps indicative of the magnitude of the disaster. What followed remains obscure. In the Karhad Grant of A.D. 959 Krishna III is still in camp at Melpadi (North Arcot District) after, it is claimed, a victorious progress throughout South India, in which the Colas were uprooted, tribute exacted from many kings, including the King of Ceylon, and a pillar of victory erected in Ramesvaram at the southernmost tip of the peninsula. Krishna III no doubt apportioned Tondaimandalam among his followers. Inscriptions are found north of the River Pennar dated from his fifteenth to twenty-eighth year (A.D. 954–67), but none survives from Colamandalam. There, in the neighbourhood of Tanjavur, are inscriptions dated years 45 and 46 (A.D. 952 and A.D. 953) of Parantaka I. One isolated and baffling inscription dated year 48 (A.D. 955) survives from Vanamaladinne in Chittoor District in the far north of Tondaimandalam: if Parantaka I was still alive in that year, he must have been well in his eighties.

The numerous inscriptions of the period clearly attest the solid prosperity of Parantaka I's empire up to the Takkolam débâcle. The king himself paid special attention to agriculture by digging an extensive network of tanks and irrigation canals. He thus ensured a generous surplus to support not only his wars but also the building of temples and the promotion of Sanskrit and Tamil learning in colleges and Brahmin settlements.

The interval of about a generation between Takkolam and the accession of Rajaraja I in A.D. 985 is the most difficult and confusing period in the dynastic history of the Colas.

Briefly, the problem is to reconcile the evidence of the copper-plate grants with that of the stone inscriptions. The so-called Larger Leyden Grant of year 21 of Rajaraja I states explicitly that after Parantaka I the succession was: Rajaditya (killed at Takkolam), Gandaraditya (another son of Parantaka I), Arindama or Arindigai or Arinjaya (presumed to be a third son of Parantaka I), Parantaka II Sundara Cola (a son of Arinjaya), Aditya II (elder son of Parantaka II Sundara Cola), Madhurantaka Uttama Cola (son of Gandaraditya), and finally Rajaraja I (younger son of Parantaka II Sundara Cola), who came to the throne in A.D. 985.

If however these kings succeeded each other in regular order, the sum of the highest regnal years on the stone inscriptions variously attributed to them produce a figure well beyond the length of the period under discussion. One solution is to assume that the regnal years overlapped, the nominated successor employing his own regnal years within the reign of the ruling king—a common practice with the Cola and other dynasties. Another solution, brilliantly argued by T. N. Subramaniam, is to see the Cola family in this period divided into two separate lines of succession, one ruling in Colamandalam, the other, more or less feudatory to Krishna III, in Tondaimandalam; the two provinces, united under Uttama Cola, were then handed on to Rajaraja I, the architect of a great empire which was to last for two hundred years. Impressed as I am by Subramaniam's interpretation I adopt here the first solution, if only because it is more generally held. Fortunately the year in which Uttama Cola began to date his inscriptions is firmly fixed in A.D. 969 to A.D. 970. The exact dates of his im-

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mediate predecessors is not perhaps crucial for the history of art, so long as we are content to place their inscriptions somewhere within the period A.D. 949 to A.D. 969.

The events of this troubled period are assumed to be roughly as follows. Parantaka I's immediate successor was his son Gandaraditya (A.D. 949–57), a Rajakesari. He was able to do little more than retain his hold on Colamandalam. He was perhaps a gentle and pious man and is best known as the probable author of a hymn on the famous Nataraja Temple at Chidambaram. He seems to have been known as Merkelundarulina-devar (the king who went to the West), an obscure title, variously interpreted. His widow, Sembiyan Mahadevi, lived on into the next century: she was, as we shall see, one of the great patrons of Early Cola art under her son Uttama Cola, whom she survived, and under Rajaraja I. Gandaraditya was succeeded by his brother Arinjaya, a Parakesari, whose reign was brief (A.D. 956–7). If he was the Arikulakesari mentioned as the king's son in an inscription of year 3 of Parantaka I, he must have been reaching seventy on his accession. Arinjaya is said to have died at Arrur, which is unidentified but is presumably near Melpadi (North Arcot District), where Rajaraja I erected a memorial shrine (*pallipadai*) to his grandfather.[1]

Arinjaya was succeeded by his son Parantaka II Sundara Cola, a Rajakesari, who ruled for about seventeen years (A.D. 956–73). His reign marked the turn of the tide for the Colas. He seems to have associated his able son Aditya II (A.D. 964–9) in the affairs of state and nominated him as his successor. The far south had recovered its independence under Vira Pandya, who claimed to have vanquished a Cola. Parantaka II and his son defeated Vira Pandya in a great battle at Cevur and, forcing him to take refuge in the forests of the Sahyadri Mountain, may have proceeded to the invasion of Ceylon. Though Parantaka II assumed the title of Maduraikonda, Cola power was not re-established in the Pandya country but at least the southern flank of Colamandalam was made safe. In the north Cola arms were even more successful. Krishna III died in A.D. 967 and by A.D. 973 the great empire of the Rashtrakutas had collapsed to be replaced by the Calukyas of Kalyani, as yet unprepared to continue the old feud between the Deccan and the South. Inscriptions of Aditya II, a Parakesari, and his father begin to appear in the North Arcot and Chingleput Districts of Tondaimandalam: they record the transactions of everyday and suggest a return to peaceful conditions. Aditya II, who seems to have been in immediate command of the reconquest of Tondaimandalam, was assassinated in A.D. 969, probably with the connivance of Uttama Cola, the son of Gandaraditya. Uttama Cola (A.D. 969–85), also a Parakesari since Aditya II had predeceased his father, was recognized as heir-apparent in preference to Aditya II's younger brother Arumoli, who later became Rajaraja I. Parantaka II seems to have continued his son's work in Tondaimandalam, where he died in A.D. 973 in his Golden Palace at Kanchipuram.

Little is known of the political history of Uttama's reign. The quiet work of reconstruction of social life seems to have continued and temple building was resumed on a scale comparable with the period before the Battle of Takkolam.

In A.D. 985 Arumoli, a Rajakesari, crowned himself as Rajaraja. He proved to be the most able of his line both as soldier and administrator. During his reign of thirty years the empire expanded well beyond the fron-

[1] That Arinjaya should have died in Tondaimandalam is perhaps the strongest piece of evidence for T. N. Subramanian's view that he predeceased both Parantaka I and Rajaditya.

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tiers reached by Parantaka I. Moreover, the outer provinces were tightly controlled by a highly centralized administration and powerful standing army and navy. Danger from the south was almost immediately removed. The Pandya and Cera kingdoms were overrun, and the northern part of Ceylon became a Cola province with its capital at Polonnaruva. In the north the whole of Tondaimandalam was secured and the territories of the northern feudatories, which included most of the modern Maisur State, were annexed.

Beyond Tondaimandalam the east coast was ruled by a so-called Telugu Cola chief, Jata-Cola Bhima, who, in A.D. 973, killed the King of Vengi in the eastern Deccan and occupied the throne until A.D. 1000s When Rajaraja I received the exiled sons of the King of Vengi, Bhima invaded Tondaimandalam but wa. defeated and taken prisoner. The eldest son was restored to the throne but as dependant of Rajaraja I. This threat to his eastern frontier caused Satyasraya, the Calukya king, to invade Vengi in A.D. 1006. Rajaraja I despatched two strong columns northwards, one to relieve Vengi, the other, under his son and successor Rajendra, to strike at the heart of the Calukya empire. Both were successful. The Calukya capital was sacked and Satyasraya forced to withdraw from Vengi. When Rajaraja I died in A.D. 1014 the Cola empire and its dependencies extended up to the River Tungabhadra. The great Siva temple at Tanjavur, the Rajarajesvara, completed in A.D. 1010, remains the clearest symbol of the power and wealth of the new empire.

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2

THE EARLY COLA TEMPLE

Compared with contemporary architecture in the Deccan and North India, or indeed with that of the Pallavas in South India, the Early Cola temple is modest in scale and simple in plan. At the very end of our period one great 'cathedral', the Rajarajesvara Temple at Tanjavur, was erected, but the temples described in this book are all small; smaller, for example, than the average Norman parish church in England.

The general plan is uniform throughout the Early Cola Period and comprises a rectangular flat-roofed nave, called the *ardhamandapa*, leading into a square flat-roofed sanctuary which supports a tower, both the latter together being called the *vimana*. The temple is oriented east–west, the sanctuary being more often at the west end. The nave is entered at the east or west end by a door which usually provides the only light to the interior. The beams of the flat roof are supported by pilasters against the long walls and sometimes by free-standing pillars, at most by two rows of two pillars each. The nave is small because there was no communal worship or service in the Christian or Muslim sense: the temple is God's palace and the ritual is for Him only, though the devout may observe its performance.

A second door, opposite the first, leads into the dark sanctuary which enshrines the deity, a linga in Sivaite temples and images of Vishnu and his two consorts in those dedicated to Vishnu. In our period a bronze image of Siva's consort usually stood by the linga: later she occupied a separate shrine within the temple compound. The flat roof of the sanctuary conceals the hollow tower above. No matter how elaborate the articulation of the outer wall surfaces, each of the inner is in one plane and usually undecorated. The effect of the interior, enhanced in the evening when the lamps are lit, is of a dim rectangular space leading into a dark cube.

As with the Greek temple it is the exterior which is important as architecture and designed to exercise the spatial imagination. The exterior, again like the Greek temple, retains clear indications of a long tradition of brick and timber construction, and reproduces forms and details appropriate to carpentry though worked in the hardest stones—gneiss, granite and charnockite. In the following description of the main elements which make up the elevation of the temple I will attempt to distinguish where the Early Colas used or adapted the forms of their predecessors and where they devised original forms.

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THE BASE OF THE VIMANA

The vimana rests on a high base or podium called the *adhishthana* (see pages 126–7). It was in most temples an even more important feature than it now appears, when the rise in ground level caused by the accretion of centuries has concealed the lowest mouldings. To free the full base a masonry-lined pit has been excavated around some famous temples: it formed, of course, no part of the original builder's intentions.

The forms of the base may be divided into three main classes according to the shape of the major mouldings, whether (A) all are straight in profile, or (B) one has a single curvature, or (C) one has a double curvature. I shall include here for completeness a few forms which do not appear on the temples but are helpful to the understanding of the evolution of the base in the Early Cola Period.

A.1 The Kadambavanesvara Temple at Erumbur (Plate 18a) is representative of this form. The lowest major moulding, called the *jagati*, is vertical and in line with the main plumb of the temple. It rests on what is usually the lowest visible element of the adhishthana, a footing, called the *upana*, also straight in profile and projecting beyond the jagati. It is concealed at Erumbur but may be clearly seen at Anangur (Plate 51). Above and also projecting as far as the main plumb of the temple is the second major moulding, called the *kumuda*, hewn horizontally into one vertical and two raking faces, called *tripatta* or with three facets. Above this is the major recessed moulding of the base, called the *kantha* or neck. It has a vertical surface, bounded top and bottom with a fillet moulding known as *kampa*, and interrupted at intervals corresponding to the pilasters on the temple walls with rectangular blocks, which represent the ends of joists in wooden structures and are in this respect similar to the triglyph in the Doric order. The faces of the rectangular blocks, which are slightly recessed from the kampa mouldings, may be carved with miniature reliefs but the intervening spaces are with rare exceptions left smooth. Above the kantha is the final major moulding of the base projecting up to the inner ends of the raking faces of the kumuda. It is called the *pattika* and represents the floor of the temple at which height it usually stands. Along the top of the pattika runs a narrow fillet moulding.

This form of base is wholly an invention of the Pallavas, who never tired of it. Indeed, to judge from surviving monuments, other forms are rare exceptions with them. They used it on their early rock-cut shrines of the seventh century A.D. and on the great structural temples of the eighth century A.D. It appears on the magnificent granite podium of the Sundaravaradaperumal Temple at Uttaramerur of the reign of Dantivarman (about A.D. 785 to A.D. 836) and on the base of the black granite Virattanesvara Temple at Tiruttani of the reign of Aparajita (about A.D. 885 to A.D. 903). It was usually employed by the Pallavas in the austere form I have described. Certain embellishments, however, are found on the structural temples of the first half of the eighth century A.D. The vertical surface of the kantha is set deep, exposing several inches of the joist behind the 'triglyph', which at the corners of the base may be cut slantwise and carved with supporting elephant protomes. Both features appear in the Kailasanatha Temple at Kanchipuram and the Talagirisvara Temple at Panamalai. In the Kailasanatha the raking surfaces of the kumuda are decorated with a horizontal line of lotus petals, while the vertical surface carries a design of ovals separated by a starlike floral pattern. The jagati, also, is carved with a frieze of gambolling

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dwarfs. These features do not seem to have survived into the ninth century A.D. on Pallava monuments, and none of them was adopted by the Early Colas.

A.2 The Naltunai Isvara Temple at Punjai (Plate 29a) is representative of this form. It is identical with A.1 except that above the pattika is introduced on the wall a second kantha, which is usually but not always interrupted by the niches for the main images. This additional moulding, which I shall call the wall-kantha, does not, strictly speaking, belong to the base, but the eye affirms what structural logic denies. Between the wall-kantha and the final fillet moulding is a minor projecting moulding, the underside of which carries a cyma recta either smooth or carved with lotus petals.

The wall-kantha is rarely employed by the Pallavas and I know of only one example on this form of base: the walls flanking the east door to the lesser court of the Kailasanatha Temple at Kanchipuram.

In the next class it is the kumuda which provides the major moulding with the single curvature. Known as *vritta*, it is bounded top and bottom with a horizontal row of lotus petals, the tips of which either follow the profile of the kumuda or curve outwards. In the Early Cola Period the space between the two rows of petals is left smooth on the temples of Colamandalam, but in Tondaimandalam it is often cut with deep vertical flutes, a form of great beauty which later was employed throughout South India.

B.1 This form follows A.1. Its single occurrence in the Early Cola Period, with lotus petals and smoothly rounded kumuda, seems to be on the ruined Siva shrine in the Candramaulisvara Temple at Tiruvakkarai.

It does not seem to have been employed on any surviving Pallava monument. It is however used as the base for a number of Early Cola bronzes, though the curve of the smoothly rounded kumuda is often asymmetrical and usually not decorated with the two rows of lotus petals.[1]

B.1.a The Tiru-Alandurai-Mahadeva Temple at Kilappaluvur (Plate 61) is perhaps the only representative of this form. It follows A.1 except that the pattika, though it remains a major moulding, is thinner and has less weight in the ensemble. This is in part due to the extension of the pilasters of the pavilions flanking the main niches down to the kumuda: this gives the feeling that there is no pattika and that the kantha is really a wall-kantha. At Kilappaluvur minor cyma recta mouldings with lotus petals are used on top of the pattika and to divide the kumuda from the vertical face of the jagati. A third, of more significance, divides the jagati from the upana.

This is an original form of the Early Colas.

B.2 The Jnanaparamesvara Temple at Nalur-Tirumeyjnanam is perhaps the only representative of this form. It follows A.2 precisely, except that a minor cyma recta moulding with lotus petals divides the kumuda from the vertical face of the jagati.

This is an original form of the Early Colas.

B.2.a The Kailasanatha Temple at Sembiyan Mahadevi (Plate 55) is representative of this form. It follows B.2

[1] e.g. Sivaramamurti, Plates 6, 16, 23, 31a, 32a, 36b, 44b and 45b.

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except for the introduction of minor cyma recta mouldings with lotus petals above and below the pattika, dividing the kumuda from the vertical face of the jagati, and, heavier, dividing the jagati from the upana. An additional minor cyma recta is sometimes placed above the final projecting moulding above the wall-kantha. The base-kantha is usually two-thirds or half as wide as the wall-kantha.

This is an original form of the Early Colas.

B.3 The Kodandaramesvara Temple at Tondaimanad (Plate 24) is representative of this form. It follows B.1 except that a new type of kantha is introduced. It consists of a plain vertical surface cut in half or unequally by a horizontal groove and crowned by a fairly strong vertical moulding, which replaces the pattika. The ends of the floor-joists are represented not by plain or decorated rectangular blocks but by figures in high relief of *vyalas*, grotesque animals, leonine or composite, sometimes protomes and sometimes complete beasts with riders. At the corners of the base are carved in the round the projecting heads of *makaras* (aquatic grotesques) with gaping jaws. At Tondaimanad, which is in the far north of Tondaimandalam, the kumuda is vertically fluted. I know of no example of this form of base with the smoothly rounded kumuda.

The Pallavas used this form at the Sundaravaradaperumal Temple at Uttaramerur alongside the form A.1 to give accent to the corners of the base. It is similarly used at Tondaimanad to emphasize the three projections of the base of the vimana. At Uttaramerur, however, the top of the jagati curves smoothly into its vertical face and its corners are carved in shallow relief with creatures with elaborate floriate tails. Even earlier the Pallavas were aware of the value of this form of base. It appears, for example, on the base of the *prakara* wall and *mahamandapa* of the Shore Temple complex at Mahabalipuram[1] of the early eighth century A.D., but with the three-faceted kumuda. It is interesting to observe that the final vertical moulding has almost the weight of a pattika.

B.3.a The Panchanadesvara Temple at Allur is representative of this form, which is very rare. It follows B.3 except that the vyalas are no longer spaced according to structural logic immediately below the wall pilasters but form a close-set or continuous frieze, called *vyalamala* or *vyala-vari*. The vyalas are often disposed in pairs, addorsed but facing, With the adoption of the close-set frieze the horizontal groove ceases to be cut on the vertical face of the moulding. Allur is in Colamandalam and the kumuda is smoothly rounded.

Both the smoothly rounded kumuda with two horizontal rows of lotus petals and the close-set vyala-mala used on the base seem to be Early Cola innovations. An interesting 'primitive' or, more likely, parallel form of this type of base appears at Cave II, the Paliyili Isvaram, on the Melamalai Hill at Narttamalai. It was excavated in year 7 of the Pallava ruler Nripatunga (about A.D. 859–99) by a local Muttaraiyar chief called Sattan Paliyili whose daughter added several structures including a *mukhamandapa* (hall), the base of which survives. This base[2] is of the form B.3.a except that the smoothly rounded kumuda is plain and without the rows of lotus

[1] K. R. Srinivasan, 'The Pallava Architecture of South India', *Ancient India*, No. 14, 1958, Plate LV.
[2] Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, Plate 12b. His plate 12a is incorrectly captioned: it belongs to Cave I.

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petals, and the vyala-mala is replaced by a close-set frieze of dwarfs, dancing and making music. There are however projecting makaras at the corners.

B.4 The Jalanathesvara Temple at Takkolam (Plate 7) is representative of this form. It follows B.3 except that the wall-kantha is added: it is usually uninterrupted by the main niches. The vyalas continue to be spaced according to structural logic on joist ends immediately below a wall pilaster. The kumuda is vertically fluted, Takkolam being in the north of Tondaimandalam.

B.4.a The Koranganatha Temple at Srinivasanallur (Plate 15) is representative of this form. It follows B.3.a except that the wall-kantha is added: it is usually interrupted by the main niches.

This is an original form of the Early Colas.

B.4.b The Manavalesvara Temple at Tiruvilakkudi is representative of this form. It follows B.4.a except that lotus-petalled minor cyma recta mouldings separate the kumuda from the vertical face of the jagati and, heavier, the jagati from the upana.

This is an original form of the Early Colas.

B.5 The Uktavedesvara Temple at Kuttalam (Plate 80a) is representative of this form. It follows B.2.a except that the pattika is replaced as final major moulding by a small version of the overhanging cornice which crowns the walls of the temple. This cornice has the attractive name of *kapota* or pigeon, since birds find shelter beneath its overhang. It is decorated at intervals with the horse-shoe shaped arch called *kudu* or nest, which has a lion-mask finial and is carved with floriate mantling. Between the kapota and the wall-kantha is a narrow version of the kantha used on B.3 but without vyalas. The kantha is half the width of the wall-kantha.

This is an original form of the Early Colas.

B.6 The Brahmapurisvara Temple at Pullamangai[1] and the ruined Sadaiyar Temple at Tiruchchennampundi seem to be the sole representatives of this form. It follows B.2 except that the pattika is replaced as final major moulding by a narrow vyala-mala over a kapota, which has no kudus.

This is an original form of the Early Colas. An early essay in this form without wall-kantha and with spaced vyalas and the three-faceted kumuda appears on the Dharmaraja-ratha at Mahabalipuram. It was however rarely employed by the Pallavas.

B.6.a The Sakshisvara Temple at Tiruppurambiyam (Plate 67) is representative of this form. It follows B.6 except that the kapota is provided with kudus, the vyala-mala and kapota have almost equal weight in the ensemble, and lotus-petalled cyma recta minor mouldings separate the wall-kantha from the vyala-mala, the kumuda from the vertical face of the jagati and, heavier, the jagati from the upana.

This is an original form of the Early Colas.

In the third class it is the jagati which provides the major moulding with a double curvature, a superb cyma

[1] J. C. Harle, *The Brahmapurisvara Temple at Pullamangai*, Bombay, 1958. Plate I.

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recta carved with lotus petals, which curve upwards at the tip. This type of major moulding seems to have been an original contribution of the Early Colas.

C.1 This form follows B.1. It is not found on any Early Cola temple but is used, like B.1, as the base of a few very important bronzes of the Early Cola Period.[1]

This is an original form of the Early Colas.

C.2 This form follows B.2. I know of no example in the Early Cola Period, but include it here for completeness since it was used on the Dakshina-Kailasa Shrine at Tiruvaiyaru, which is perhaps the earliest monument of the Late Cola Period: the evidence of inscriptions and style of architecture and sculpture strongly support the date of the temple as in or just before the third year of Rajendra I (A.D. 1015).

C.2.a The Apatsahayesvara Temple at Aduturai (Plate 65) is representative of this form. It follows B.2.a. At Aduturai both base mouldings are used, B.2.a on the ardhamandapa and C.2.a on the vimana to give added dignity and emphasis.

This is an original form of the Early Colas.

C.3 The two shrines in the Avani-Kandarpa Isvara Temple at Kilaiyur (Plate 4) are representative of this form. It follows B.3.a. It is interesting to note that at Tirunamanallur (Plate 18b) in the border country between Colamandalam and Tondaimandalam the vyalas are sparsely set and the horizontal groove cut on the vertical face of the moulding remains clear.

This is an original form of the Early Colas.

C.4 The Uttara Kailasa Shrine at Tiruvaiyaru (Plate 85) is representative of this form. It follows B.4.a.

This is an original form of the Early Colas, but an early and rare Pallava version appears on the west and east shrines and the close prakara of the Shore Temple complex and on the Olakkanesvara Temple at Maha-balipuram. Here the jagati is a timid cyma recta, smooth except for low-relief scrolling at the returns of the base. The three-faceted kumuda carries the same decoration as the already described base of the Kailasanatha Temple at Kanchipuram. The vyalas are spaced according to structural logic, while the vertical moulding has the weight of, indeed is, a pattika. There is also a wall-kantha, uninterrupted by the wall niches.

C.5 The Gangajatadhara Temple at Govindaputtur seems to be the sole representative of this form. It follows B.5.

This is an original form of the Early Colas.

The Pallava Temple, particularly the smaller shrines, often have their adhishthana lifted on a sub-base called the *upapitha*. This is simply designed, a sort of giant kantha with tall supporting rectangular 'planks', spaced fairly consistently according to the triglyphs of the real kantha and the wall pillars or pilasters. The upa-pitha is usually severely plain, but on the Matangesvara Temple at Kanchipuram the corner 'planks' carry

[1] e.g. Barrett, Plate 47 (the Tiruchcherai Vishnu), and P. Z. Pattabiramin, 'Statues en bronze de Tripuratandavam', *Arts Asiatiques*, Vol. III, Fasc. 4, 1956 (the Kulapadu Tripurantaka and consort).

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supporting elephant protomes in the round, while on the Sundaravaradaperumal Temple at Uttaramerur the corner 'planks' are carved with seated lions, elephants and dwarfs, and the intervening ones with floral scrolls in low relief.

In Tondaimandalam the Pallava tradition continued until the end of the Early Cola Period, a typical example being the Siva temple at Dadapuram (Plate 93), where lions and elephants are used as supporters on the corner 'planks'. The most important upapitha of the Early Cola Period, anticipating all later developments, is that on the Mulesvara Temple at Bahur (Plate 43) in the border country between Tondaimandalam and Colamandalam. It supports an adhishthana of the form A.1, but with a strong lotus-petalled cyma recta to the upana. The 'planks' are decorated with floral scrolls, while the vertical surfaces between are framed within recessed straight and lotus mouldings and carved with figures of female dancers, dwarfs, monkeys and elephants. The upapitha seems, however, to have found little favour in Colamandalam itself until the very end of the Early Cola Period during the reign of Rajaraja I. The Uttara Kailasa Shrine at Tiruvaiyaru is a splendid example of the plain form but separated from the vertical footing by a fairly strong lotus-petalled cyma recta moulding. (It cannot be seen on Plate 85, since it lies in the 'pit' which surrounds the temple. A similar upapitha may well exist below the Dakshina Kailasa Shrine at the same place but the present height of the courtyard reaches to just below the jagati.) In the Late Cola Period the upapitha will assume an importance not far short of that of the adhishthana itself. It will be crowned with the vyala-mala and kapota mouldings, an early Pallava form of which appears on the Olakkanesvara Temple at Mahabalipuram, and the spaces between the upright 'planks' will, as at Bahur, contain elaborate figural reliefs. The one great cathedral of our period, the Rajarajesvara Temple at Tanjavur, foreshadows all these developments.

Before leaving the base a word may be said about the spout, called the *nala* or *pranala*, which is inserted into the base of the vimana, usually on the north side, to carry off the water and other liquids used in the ritual ablution of the linga. It is often an important feature. Two fine examples are those at Tondaimanad and Takkolam, the former a makara with gaping jaws and the latter a dwarf pulling his mouth wide with his fingers (Plates 24 and 7).

THE WALLS OF THE VIMANA

Above the adhishthana rise the walls of the temple (see page 125). Large fields of the beautiful and accurately worked hard stone were left plain and carefully placed pilasters and engaged pillars were used to articulate the wall-surface. The effect achieved is one of classical precision and severity, and the architect is never tempted to emphasize his decorative detail at the expense of his main forms.

The pillar of the Early Cola order may have all its members either clean of ornament or decorated with discrete carving in low relief. The shaft of the pillar up to the capital, called the *kal*, may be square in section, round, octagonal or, less commonly, polygonal and shallowly fluted (*sundobheda*, like a split bamboo). It has no true base, but the shafts not square in section usually terminate in a square basal member called *saduram*.

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Separating the shaft and the capital is a narrow recessed moulding between two lotus-petalled mouldings, the whole being called the *padmabandha*. From this may hang a deeply scalloped and tasselled valance often carved with dancers, musicians and other figural or floral subjects. This, called the *mala-sthana*, when in immaculate condition, illustrates, as do the carvings on the triglyphs of the kantha, the sculptor's mastery of the miniature.

Above the padma-bandha come the members making up the capital: the *kalasa* or wide-mouthed vase surmounted by a series of narrow, expanding mouldings: the *tadi*, an echinus of spreading convex profile; the *kumbha*, another vase, flat and bulbous with narrow mouth; and finally the padma, a great lotus, wide open in a lovely cyma recta, the tips of the petals curving inwards to make a strong torus moulding. Sometimes the torus moulding is cut with regular indentations as if to depict the reflexed pointed petals of the lotus. (This treatment, called *munai* by Tamil craftsmen, is generally considered to belong to a date no earlier than the Late Cola Period. I shall, however, indicate several apparent examples in our period.) The capital usually adapts all its parts to the shape of the pillar-shaft, and it is, perhaps, when all are round in section that their derivation from vase-shapes ceases to be fanciful. On the padma rests a wide square block, the *phalaka* or abacus. All the parts of the capital and the phalaka are assumed, as they were no doubt in the wooden prototypes, to be held together by a long square dowel, called the *vira-kantha*, set in the shaft of the pillar. This dowel protrudes from the top of the phalaka and is inserted into the base of the corbel. The Early Cola corbel, called *potika*, consists of a plain tee-shaped fascia, vertically cut at the ends and recessed slightly from the main beam it supports. The fascia projects slightly beyond the lower part of the corbel, the arms of which are hewn off at an angle of 45 degrees. The lower part of the corbel may be treated in one of three ways. It may be left plain. Secondly, it may have its slanting and horizontal faces carved with a roll or reed moulding, called *taranga*, the horizontal rolls being usually even, while those on the slanting face show a complex profile often with a pronounced recession or throating at the angle. A plain or decorated median band, called *patta*, holds, as it were, the reeds together. This band occurs exceptionally on the plain angular corbel. The third form, which appears only on the Rajarajes-vara Temple at Tanjavur at the very end of the Early Cola Period, is also plain, but on the slanting face a rec-tangular tenon has been left. Before leaving the Early Cola pillar mention should be made of a form whose base below the mala-sthana is provided by the figure in full round of a seated lion (Plate 1).

On the corbels rests the entablature, called *prastara*. Its lowest member is the main beam of the roof, called *uttira*. Over this and bound at top and bottom by a fairly strong projecting moulding of straight profile, called *vajana*, is the *valabhi*, a broad convex moulding carved with gambolling dwarfs (*bhutas*) or with flying swans (*hamsas*), which, though presented as a continuous frieze, are again really the carved ends of the roof joists. Arching over the valabhi is the cornice (kapota), already described as a base moulding. Its original function was to throw off the rains, thus protecting the main beam and the roof joists. At the corners and sometimes in the centre of the kapota beautiful floral mantling, called *patra-lata* or *kodikkaruku*, is carved in low relief, a sur-vival of the embossed metal plates, called *kona-patta*, which braced the corners of the cornice on wooden structures. Along the bottom edge of the kapota runs a row of flat, circular bosses, also, no doubt, originally in metal. At intervals are cut the horse-shoe shaped *kudus* with lion mask finials and enclosing human faces or other motifs. Sometimes between the kapota and the pillar-capital are inserted bracket-figures carved in the round,

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rearing beasts, dancers or musicians, their feet resting on the broad abacus. Above the kapota runs a vyala-mala. It is not, strictly speaking, part of the entablature, but may best be included here, since it usually forms the final moulding of the ardhamandapa.

The Early Cola order of pillar, capital and entablature follows that of the Pallavas, but important differences of detail and emphasis clearly distinguish the one from the other. The Pallava architect had already established his order in the seventh- and eighth-century monuments at Mahabalipuram and Kanchipuram, but there the padma-bandha is not or but little recessed and the *kalasa* runs smoothly into the line of the shaft, the pillar retaining a clear columnar shape. In the Sundaravaradaperumal Temple at Uttaramerur of the first half of the ninth century A.D., the great granite base of which has already been mentioned, the brick and stucco ardhamandapa retains its original pillars up to the *phalaka*. Here the padma-bandha is recessed and the kalasa has acquired the inward curve of its base, becoming truly vase-shaped. The pillar thus achieves more or less the articulation of the Early Cola order. The Pallavas also decorated the shaft with the malasthana, but it is never the elaborate and beautiful feature of the Early Cola pillar.

The Early Cola corbel, on the other hand, all three forms, seems to be an original contribution of our period and of Colamandalam. The Pallava corbel may be angular or, more commonly, rounded in profile. If the former, it is usually plain: if the latter, it may be plain or carved with large, even rolls, which are usually but not always bound with a plain or decorated patta. In both the sloping or rounded face meets the uttira directly without the intervention of the vertical-ended fascia. Nor does the curved roll-corbel ever display the complex profile with throating of the Early Cola angular form. Even on the Virattanesvara Temple at Tiruttani at the very end of the Pallava period the large even rolls are employed on the curved corbels, and even on some which tend towards an angular shape. It is perhaps not without significance that at Tiruchirappalli, in the very heart of Cola territory, the angular corbels, employed in the seventh-century Pallava cave-temple of Lalitankura, have the roll ornament and by the use at the lower angle of a larger roll with an incised volute timidly anticipate the Early Cola form. The Pallava and Early Cola entablatures are essentially the same, except that the finial of the kudu is spade-shaped in the Pallava order but usually carved in high relief with a lion-mask in that of the Early Colas. The lion-mask is however used on the kudus at Tiruttani.

The wall-space is also used to accommodate the niches which contain the images of the appropriate deities. The niche, called *devakoshtha*, may be a simple rectangular recess with no mouldings (Plate 19), but usually it is the main decorative feature of the wall, drawing the eye to the enshrined god. It is framed by two split pilasters of the full Early Cola order, which support, on the corbel, on the vira-kantha or directly on the phalaka, a lintel of two straight mouldings separated by a cyma recta, plain or carved with lotus petals. Over the lintel is a great demilune, which, enclosed by two closely flanking complete pillars or pilasters and the main beam, acts as a sort of tympanum to the niche (Plate 2). In its finest and most elaborate form this tympanum consists of a festooned and peopled garland issuing in a curve from the mouths of two makaras with floriate tails, which often spread down to the phalakas of the split pilasters. At the top of the curve addorsed makara heads receive the garland with open jaws. Within the field enclosed by the curving garland is usually carved a deity or a mythological scene.

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THE FIRST TALA OF THE VIMANA

The Early Cola tympanum is really an arch, called *makara-torana*, supported on pillars. The Pallava sculptor used it as such, even in his rock-cut monuments.[1] Even when he employed it to frame a niche, he never lost sight of its original function. It is, of course, the clearly stressed lintel of the Early Colas which converts the arch into a tympanum: the Pallavas were content to continue the upper surface of the phalakas with a horizontal fasciated strut. A version of the full Early Cola devakoshtha is used on the Virattanesvara Temple at Tiruttani.

THE FIRST TALA OF THE VIMANA

The parts of the temple already described, the base and the walls up to the vyala-mala, make up the first storey (*tala*) of the vimana (see page 131). Variations in plan and elevation may be grouped according to the elaboration with which sections of the base and wall-surface are brought forward or recessed.

In Group A the square plan is not elaborated.

A.1 The devakoshtha with its closely flanking complete pilasters is placed in the centre of the three exposed walls of the vimana, the four corners of which are occupied by engaged pillars. Each façade is thus divided into three clearly defined wall-sections in one plane.

A.2 An additional pilaster with lateral corbels only is introduced into the outer wall-sections (Plate 44). These pilasters are usually but not always closely related spatially to the corner engaged pillars.

In Group B a section of the three exposed walls of the vimana is drawn forward, from base to vyala-mala, into a central projecting frontispiece, which is occupied by the devakoshtha and framed by engaged pillars at the returns. The façades are now organized in two main planes.

B.1 This form follows A.1 (Plate 18b).

B.2 This form follows B.1, except that in the wall-sections between the frontispiece and the corner engaged pillars is introduced the façade of an apsidal pavilion, called *panjara* (Plate 25). Two pillars of the full Early Cola order together with kapota and vyala-mala support pillars or pilasters which carry an arched window shaped like a kudu. The pavilion may project from the wall-section up to a third of the width of the supporting pillars, their whole width, or their whole width together with a part of the 'wall' behind the façade. It may reach up to the valabhi or into the kapota. Its own base mouldings may pierce the base of the vimana either to the pattika or right down to the upana.

B.2.a This form follows B.2, except that the pavilion is square in plan with a four-sided converging roof, called *kuta*. I know of only one example of it, the Matsyapurisvara Temple at Koyil Teverayanpettai.

B.2.b This is a poor man's version of B.2.a and I know of one only example of it, the Tiru-Alandurai-

[1] A fine example is found in Satrumalla's Cave Temple at Dalavanur (Srinivasan, Plate XIV).

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Mahadeva Temple at Kilappaluvur (Plate 61). The four-sided converging roof rests directly on the vyala-mala. It reaches only to the underside of the uttira and its supporting pillars pierce the kantha to the kumuda.

B.3 This form follows A.2. The corner engaged pillars and their flanking pilasters usually form a clear spatial unit (Plate 4). The phalakas almost touch and the flanking pilasters often have projecting as well as lateral corbels. Each façade is thus divided into five clearly defined wall-sections.

B.4 This form follows B.3, except that the plain wall-sections flanking the frontispiece are occupied by a panjara (Plate 80a). I know of only one example of this form, the Uktavedesvara Temple at Kuttalam. Here an additional pilaster is placed between the panjara and the frontispiece.

B.5 This form follows B.3, except that the plain wall-sections flanking the frontispiece are occupied by male or female adorers either in narrow devakoshthas or set direct in the wall. I know of only one example of the former, the now destroyed Mahalingaswami Temple at Tiruvidaimarudur,[1] and one of the latter, the Tiruk-kotisvara Temple at Tirukoddikaval.

In Group C the façade is also organized in two main planes.

C.1 This form seems to be peculiar to the Pipilisvara Temple at Tiruverumbur. It follows A.1 except that in the wall-sections flanking the devakoshtha and its associated complete pilasters is introduced a panjara, which rests on the wall-kantha and terminates in a kudu of the main kapota. To accommodate the panjara the whole base below it from upana to wall-kantha is brought forward, leaving, as it were, the devakoshtha and the end wall-sections recessed.[2]

C.2 This form seems to be peculiar to the Karkotakesvara Temple at Kamarasavalli (Plate 87). The wall-space is divided into four sections in one plane by three narrow recessed sections which accommodate images in plain niches. The two centre sections, wider than the two end sections, carry within two engaged pillars an oblong barrel-vaulted pavilion, called *sala*. The two end sections carry two engaged pillars.

In Group D two wings, composed of the corner engaged pillars and their flanking pilasters, now engaged pillars, are brought forwards, sometimes up to the plane of the frontispiece but usually a little recessed from it. Base and kapota follow the profile. The façades are now organized in two or, more commonly, three main planes.

D.1 This form follows B.3.

D.2 This form follows D.1 except that in the recessed wall-sections on either side of the frontispiece are placed panjaras (Plate 93).

[1] Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, Plate 83.

[2] An interesting Pallava version of this form is found on the Valaiyankuttai Ratha at Mahabalipuram.

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D.3 This form follows D.1 except that in the recessed wall-sections on either side of the frontispiece are placed male or female adorers in niches flanked by engaged pillars (Plate 16), or in devakoshthas (Plate 55).

In Group E the devakoshtha is drawn forward again and given two additional engaged pillars. The frontispiece is thus organized in two planes and the whole façade in four.

E.1 This form follows D.3.

THE TOWER OF THE VIMANA

The tower is the most difficult part of the Early Cola temple to study (see page 125). In many important temples the vimana stands in the middle of a large complex of later structures, covered cloisters, halls and subsidiary shrines, which makes it difficult to get at the tower or even to see it clearly. Also, the stone tower may be covered with a thick skin of stucco either crazing or newly applied and painted, concealing all but the general profile. Again, the tower may be of brick with stucco images and decoration. It is fair to assume that many Early Cola temples had a brick tower but how far the surviving fabrics are original is another question. Most probably follow the general design of the ancient tower, often however with details that are clearly later. The stucco images and decoration must in the South Indian climate have been renewed many times, perhaps twice in every hundred years. Consequently, little emphasis will be laid on the tower of a temple unless it is of stone and fairly clean.

It will be best to describe the tower from the top downwards. The roof, called the *sikhara*, may be domical (Plate 4), four-sided (Plate 3), or, rarely, octagonal, with a pronounced waist above the outward curve at the base. It is crowned by a single finial, called *stupi*, which adapts its shape to that of the sikhara. Around the top of the sikhara is carved a great wide-open lotus with the petal-tips upturned. From this, down the corner ribs on the square sikhara, runs the floral mantling, called patra-lata or kodikkaruku, which spreads over the waist and outward curve of the sikhara. Around the base runs a recessed band of flat circular bosses. Both the patra-lata and the bosses represent the decorated metal bracing on wooden prototypes. The sikhara is supported by a circular, square, or octagonal recessed clerestory, called the *gala* or *griva*. In the clerestory are set four devakoshthas, facing the four cardinal points. They support not a makara-torana but a large kudu, whose lion-mask finial extends above the waist of the sikhara. On wooden structures the devakoshtha and crowning kudu performed the function of a dormer-window, admitting light and air to the interior of the tower. At the top of the griva, directly under the outward curve of the sikhara, is usually a heavy frieze of hamsas, and at the base a simple series of projecting and recessed straight mouldings. The griva rests on a wide square platform surrounded by a vyala-mala. At the four corners of the platform on Sivaite temples usually sits a figure of Nandi, the bull vehicle of Siva. In the simplest form of tower this platform with its surrounding vyala-mala is the topmost element of the first storey or tala: the temple is then said to be of one tala only.

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The tower may be further elaborated by the insertion of one or more talas between the first tala and the platform of the griva. No matter how many talas are added, the principle of design remains the same for each. The Colisvara Temple at Kilaiyur (Plate 4), where the vimana is of two talas, will make this clear. The square griva-platform is supported by four walls, provided with full pilasters, valabhi and kapota. Against each wall is set a row, called *hara*, of aediculae or miniature shrines of the types already described. In the centre is placed the sala, the oblong barrel-vaulted shrine, the long side providing space for a devakoshtha with kudu. At the corners stands the kuta, square with a four-sided converging roof. The two kutas and the sala are linked by wall lengths with kapota or by the façades of panjaras, which may also serve as small devakoshthas. If a third tala is added, the centre of the supporting walls of the second tala is usually occupied by two salas again linked by wall lengths or panjaras. Most of the Early Cola vimanas are of one or two talas only. This allows for clarity of design and the most satisfying proportion between tala, griva and sikhara. Also, the eye can appreciate every variation in the scale and detail of the individual forms. At the Muvarkoyil at Kodumbalur, for example, the large central sala in the second tala extends up to the griva-platform and forms a dominating frontispiece, providing space for a major devakoshtha (Plate 37). In the one large-scale vimana of our period, the Rajarajesvara Temple at Tanjavur, sixteen talas, the canonical maximum, are employed to gain height. The result is a vast pyramid: the haras are reduced to the status of strong horizontal mouldings and the small griva and sikhara to that of a crowning finial.

In general all the elements which go to make up the Early Cola tower had already been employed by the Pallavas. The surviving Pallava towers, both rock-cut and structural, are concentrated into a century and a half (about A.D. 650 to A.D. 800) and show greater variety in design than the Early Cola. The large temples, such as the Kailasanatha and the Vaikuntha-perumal at Kanchipuram, are of four talas. Each part—hara, griva and sikhara—retains its integrity within the design, and the result, especially in the Vaikuntha-perumal, perhaps the finest of Pallava temples, is a perfect solution of the problem of gaining height without losing coherence. A particularly elegant four-tala tower is that on the east shrine of the Shore Temple complex at Mahabalipuram. The slender, spire-like effect is achieved by the simple but wholly effective expedient of omitting the hara from the second tala, which lifts the tower without blurring its profile. Some Pallava towers of three talas, the Muktesvara and Matangesvara Temples at Kanchipuram, for example, are regular in design. Others, of three or two talas, introduce a feature, which was not adopted by the Early Cola architect: a low hara surrounds the griva-platform, partially obscuring the griva and emphasizing the pyramidal shape of the tower. On the Early Cola tower the griva always provides a strong, clean vertical thrust to counterbalance the horizontal lines of the talas and to lift the large sikhara clear of the supporting mass of the tower. It is probable that the Pallavas themselves ceased to employ the hara on the griva-platform after the early eighth century A.D., though its use at Mahabalipuram on the Dharmaraja-ratha (three talas) and the Arjuna-ratha (two talas) is wholly successful and very beautiful. It should perhaps be mentioned here that the hara is really a parapet to an ambulatory passage round the tower. Though used as an architectural feature merely on Early Cola temples it retains its functional use on several Pallava towers, both rock-cut and structural.

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THE ARDHAMANDAPA

The base of the rectangular ardhamandapa generally follows the form used on the vimana but may have a different, related form to distinguish the two parts of the temple. The full entablature with vyala-mala as final moulding of the vimana's first tala is continued round the side and end walls of the ardhamandapa. The plan and elevation of the side walls may be grouped according as they are designed in one or two main planes (see pages 134–5).

In Group I the side walls are in one main plane. They abut directly on to the vimana and are inset up to twice or more the width of the engaged pillars at its adjacent corners. The ardhamandapa is thus narrower, often appreciably so, than the vimana. At the corners where the side walls and end wall of the ardhamandapa meet, are placed engaged pillars.

I.a The wall is left plain or is decorated with two or three spaced pilasters of the full Early Cola order. One of the pilasters may be placed at the end of the wall where it meets the vimana.

I.b The centre of the wall is occupied by a full devakoshtha with flanking pilasters, and a pilaster is usually placed at the end of the wall where it meets the vimana so as to balance the engaged pillar at the other end.

I.c This form follows I.b except that the full devakoshtha is flanked on either side by an image set in a plain rectangular niche. This form seems to be peculiar to the Nagesvara Temple at Kumbakonam.

I.d This form follows I.b except that the full devakoshtha is flanked on either side by a full devakoshtha. The three devakoshthas occupy the whole length of the wall.

I.e This form follows I.d except that between the vimana and the first full devakoshtha is placed a narrow devakoshtha occupied not by an image but a pierced stone grille to light the inner corners of the ardha-mandapa.

In Group II the side walls remain in one main plane but are separated from the vimana by a recessed wall-space, inset up to twice or more the width of an engaged pillar. The recessed wall-space is variable in length: it may be no more than a narrow neck between the two parts of the temple or long enough to convert the plan of the exterior walls of the ardhamandapa into a square. Base and entablature follow the recess, which, as with all other articulations of the outer walls, is not imitated on the inner. The ardhamandapa is now no longer an adjunct of the vimana but a distinct architectural unit. It may be of the same width as the vimana but is frequently a little narrower.

II.a The wall is decorated with two spaced pilasters and with an engaged pillar at the recess to balance the engaged pillar at the other end. This form is very rare.

II.b This form follows I.b, with, of course, an engaged pillar at the recess.

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II.b.1 This form follows II.b except that the central full devakoshtha is flanked on either side by a plain rectangular niche. The recessed wall-spaces may be plain or occupied by a devakoshtha with or without a grille.

II.c In this form the treatment of the two side walls is asymmetrical. Two full devakoshthas occupy the whole length of the south wall. The western devakoshtha is imitated on the north wall but the wall-space opposite the eastern devakoshtha is left plain. This form seems to be peculiar to the Naltunai Isvara Temple at Punjai.

II.d Three full devakoshthas occupy the whole length of the side walls, but the two flanking full devakoshthas on both walls are not designed for the reception of images and are left blind. The recessed wall-space is occupied by a blind devakoshtha. This form seems to be peculiar to the Uttara Kailasa shrine at Tiruvaiyaru.

II.e Three full devakoshthas occupy the whole length of both side walls, but the two flanking full devakoshthas on the north wall and the eastern full devakoshtha on the south wall are not designed for the reception of images and are left blind. There are, therefore, as at Punjai, only three images on the ardhamandapa. The recessed wall-space is occupied by a narrow devakoshtha containing a pierced stone grille or left plain. This form seems to be peculiar to the Gomuktesvara Temple at Tiruvaduturai.

II.f Three full devakoshthas, all designed for the reception of images, occupy the whole length of both walls. The recessed wall-space may be left plain, or occupied by a grille, simply or in a narrow devakoshtha.

II.g This form follows II.b, except that between the central full devakoshtha and the end engaged pillars is placed a panjara. The recessed wall-space is occupied by a grille within a narrow devakoshtha. This form seems to be peculiar to the Sakshisvara temple at Tiruppurambiyam.

In Group III the side walls are organized in two main planes. I know of only two temples in this group. They are found with vimanas whose first tala belongs to Groups D or E, that is, where two wings are bought forwards up to or a little recessed from the frontispiece. The side walls consist of a full devakoshtha flanked on either side by a recessed wall-space, one of which abuts directly on to the vimana and is inset rather more than the width of three engaged pillars, while the other abuts at the eastern end of the ardhamandapa against a projecting wing flanked by two engaged pillars. The two recessed wall-spaces are in one plane, the devakoshtha and projecting wing in the other. The ardhamandapa is narrower than the vimana.

III.a In the recessed wall-spaces on either side of the devakoshtha are placed panjaras. This form seems to be peculiar to the Brahmapurisvara Temple at Pullamangai.

III.b In the recessed wall-spaces on either side of the devakoshtha are placed male adorers in narrow devakoshthas. This form seems to be peculiar to the Apatsahayesvara Temple at Tiruppalanam.

The end wall of the ardhamandapa has a door in the centre. It is not usually a remarkable feature: the jambs are formed of split pillars and the lintel is a simple moulding or carved with floriate decoration. Occasion-

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ally a little more emphasis is given by employing complete square or round pillars for the jambs. The wall-space between the door and the end engaged pillars may be left plain but is generally occupied by large figures of dvarapalas or door guardians, more often than not the finest sculptures on the temple. Where the side walls of the ardhamandapa belong to Group III, the end engaged pillar is flanked by another on the end wall completing, so to speak, the square of the projecting wing. At Pullamangai (Group III.a) a panjara is placed in the recessed wall-space between this engaged pillar and the door.

The exterior walls of the ardhamandapa terminate rather abruptly at the vyala-mala which conceals the flat roof and is sometimes pierced with sculptured conduits or gargoyles to take off the rain. If the temple had a second tala the Pallava continued the hara round the roof of the ardhamandapa using one or several linked salas with kutas at the two corners. This admirable crowning of the walls does not seem to have appealed to the Cola architect. It exists nowhere except in an interesting and successful modification above the side walls at Pullamangai. There above the devakoshthas and the end wings are placed a sala and a kuta respectively. Between them and between the sala and the vimana are groups of two squatting dwarfs in the full round and facing outwards.

THE TEMPLE COMPLEX

Within the high masonry wall (*prakara*) which enclosed the temple compound space was provided for other structures necessary for ritual and the other activities which made up the life of the temple. A few of these structures have survived.

In line with the temple and opposite the ardhamandapa often stood a separate, larger hall or mandapa, used for the ritual bathing of the deities, for the recitation and exposition of sacred texts and for music and dance. These halls have for the most part been swept away by renovation or have been incorporated in later structures in such a way as to obscure their original form. However, they may be traced on several sites. The plan seems to vary. The most complete surviving example, which will be described later, is in front of the Agastyesvara Shrine at Kilaiyur.

Within the compound were also sited at intervals round the temple seven small sub-shrines dedicated to the subsidiary deities (*parivaradevatas*). They were Surya, the Saptamatrikas, Ganesa, Karttikeya, Jyestha, Candra and Candesvara. The deities, if they survive, are usually of the period of the temple: the shrines, simple structures of one tala and often brick-built, are less frequently so.[1]

The entrance to the temple compound was through a towered gate (*gopura*) set in the prakara. In the Late Cola Period the gopura becomes the highest and most impressive feature of the temple complex, often dwarfing the vimana itself. It is already prominent in the Rajarajesvara Temple at Tanjavur built at the end of our period, though here its size is dictated by the scale of the great vimana. On the small temples the gopura has rarely survived. The best example is again at Kilaiyur.

[1] An excellent discussion of the sub-shrines of the parivaradevatas may be found in T. V. Mahalingam, 'The Nagesvarasvami Temple', *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XLV, Part I, April 1967, pp. 35–8.

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3

THE FIRST OR ADITYA I PHASE

The Reign of Vijayalaya (c. A.D. 866–870)

If we are unwilling to speculate beyond the generally accepted evidence and give to Vijayalaya, the founder of the Cola dynasty, a short rule of some four years over a fairly small kingdom in Colamandalam, we shall not expect to find many signs of artistic activity during his reign. Those scholars who believe that Vijayalaya ruled over a wide territory for some twenty years from about A.D. 850 to A.D. 870 naturally present a different picture. Balasubrahmanyam, for example, lists[1] no less than eighteen temples which he considers may be attributed to this period on the evidence of epigraphy if nothing more. It is necessary to establish two things: first, whether any surviving temple fabrics certainly belong to the third quarter of the ninth century A.D.; and second, what light they throw on the origin of the Early Cola style in architecture and sculpture.

We may first discard from Balasubrahmanyam's list those sites where he himself admits no ninth century A.D. fabric survives: Tiruvilimilalai (Tanjavur District), Srirangam (Tiruchirappalli District) and Chidambaram (South Arcot District). At Tiruvilimilalai there are three inscriptions of years 3, 6 and 15 of a Parakesari (439, 436 and 435 of 1908). Whether these may be attributed to Vijayalaya is of course debatable. The evidence is even more exiguous at Srirangam: a single inscription of year 2 of a Parakesari (73 of 1892). No one claims that any part of the fabric of the famous Nataraja Temple at Chidambaram is earlier than the late eleventh century A.D., but on the now destroyed Anantisvara Temple in the western part of the city Balasubrahmanyam discovered four inscriptions of the Early Cola Period.[2] He tentatively ascribed one of these, dated year 3 of a Parakesari, to Vijayalaya. However that may be, the photographs of the lost temple[3] hardly allow one to hazard an opinion of its date, though it is not likely to be earlier than the late eleventh century A.D.

We may next remove those temples where the surviving fabric, claimed as of the age of Vijayalaya by Balasubrahmanyam, does not belong to the Early Cola Period: the Sokkesvara Temple at Kanchipuram (Chingleput District) and the Siva and Vishnu temples at Kappalur (North Arcot District). Both sites are situated in Tondaimandalam, far distant from Vijayalaya's home territory. On the Sokkesvara Temple there is

[1] Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, pp. 41–2.

[2] S. R. Balasubrahmanyam, 'The Oldest Chidambaram Inscriptions', *Journal of the Annamalai University*, Vols. XII and XIII, especially Vol. XIII, pp. 88–91.

[3] Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, Plate 24a.

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only one inscription, dated year 15 of a Parakesari, which might be claimed as relevant. The temple, however, its architecture and sculpture, tells its own story.[1] Constructed entirely of stone it is of one tala (Form A.2) but with kutas at the corners of the griva-platform. The three devakoshthas of the vimana are each framed within a panjara, a feature not found in the Early Cola Period. All the corbels are of the form with a rectangular tenon left on the slanting face: this form appears only at the very end of our period. On all the pilasters the torus of the padma is cut into munai: the regular use of munai in this manner does not occur until after our period. The general date indicated by these architectural details is narrowed by the style of the two surviving devakoshtha figures, a Dakshinamurti and a Ganesa (the trunk is crudely restored in Balasubrahmanyam's plate), which, like the reliefs in the *toranas*, clearly belong to the second half of the eleventh century A.D. This attractive small temple, far from dating from the reign of Vijayalaya, does not even belong to our period. It is worth mentioning that a close parallel to the Sokkesvara Temple is the Melakkadambur Temple at Narttamalai, to which even Balasubrahmanyam gives a date not earlier than the first half of the eleventh century A.D.[2] Balasubrahmanyam, who dates the Siva temple at Kappalur to the ninth century A.D. and the Vishnu temple at the latest to the tenth century A.D., does not describe the surviving fabrics, neither of which has any architectural pretensions or is earlier than the thirteenth century A.D. He does, however, illustrate a Dakshinamurti[3] of the Siva temple which cannot be earlier than the twelfth century A.D. It is earlier, however, than the temple, to which it does not belong, being, as is clear from Balasubrahmanyam's plate, much too large for the devakoshtha against which it is placed. The other two devakoshthas of the vimana are occupied by very late, small images of Vishnu and Brahma, while the two on the ardhamandapa are empty. The Vishnu temple makes no claim whatever to an early date. In the light of the fine series of tenth century A.D. inscriptions at the site this is a disappointment, relieved, however, by the justly famous group of Third Phase bronzes in the Vishnu temple and a magnificent bronze Vishnu of the tenth century A.D. in the Siva temple.

We may continue with those temples in Balasubrahmanyam's list which date to the ninth century A.D. or earlier but belong to the Pallava dynasty. In other words, while they may throw some light on the genesis of Early Cola art, they are not representative of it. All are situated in Tondaimandalam. At Uttaramerur (Chingleput District) both the already mentioned Sundaravaradaperumal Temple and the ruined Vaikunthaperumal Temple belong to the period of the Pallava Dantivarman (A.D. 785–836). The temples at Kuram (Chingleput District) and Kalambakkam (Chingleput District) are, most scholars would claim, at least as early as the beginning of the eighth century A.D. The Vishnu temple at Nemmali (Chittoor District) is, for our purposes, a base only, of Form A.1: the superstructure is late. The base carries an inscription (154 of 1942–3) of year 10 of the Pallava Aparajita (A.D. 885–903) and probably belongs to that date.

We may now return to what should prove the more rewarding ground of Colamandalam. In the Tiruvalangadu Plates of year 6 of Rajendra Cola (A.D. 1012–44) it is claimed that Vijayalaya, having captured Tanjavur, consecrated the goddess Nisumbhasudani. The temple of the goddess no longer exists, but in the late Ugramakali Temple at the eastern gate of the fort at Tanjavur is a splendid image of a four-armed

[1] Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, Plates 28–32: *Damilica*. No. I, 1970, Plates 34–7.
[2] Balasubrahmanyam, 1963, Plates 27–8.
[3] Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, Plate 25.

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Nisumbhasudani which several scholars have claimed to be that dedicated by Vijayalaya.[1] It would indeed be a happy chance had Vijayalaya's image survived. Balasubrahmanyam says that on iconographic grounds, the image can be safely assigned to the middle of the ninth century A.D., but he is unable to quote a parallel, either iconographic or stylistic, which would support his assertion. I would place this fine piece of sculpture in the Second Phase and compare it with another unpublished Nisumbhasudani, eight-armed, of the Third Phase in the Chandramoulisvara Temple at Tiruvakkarai (South Arcot District).

On the Melamalai Hill at NARTTAMALAI, opposite the Cave Temple already mentioned, is one of the most important temples in South India. In the thirteenth century A.D., as we know from a Pandya inscription of A.D. 1228, it bore the significant name of *Vijayalaya Colisvara.* The temple[2] consists of a square vimana of three talas with a smaller square ardhamandapa, both on a base of Form A.1. The first tala of the vimana has a double wall. The outer wall comprises five sections in one plane, the centre section broader than the flanking ones. Each section, framed by two pilasters which are unarticulated up to the tadi, is divided from its neighbour by a recessed wall-section which is decorated with two flat ribbon pilasters, between which, at the four corners of the vimana, are cut grilles to light the interior. The centre of the broader section is drawn forward into a small frontispiece the width of the flanking sections and also framed by pilasters. There are no devakoshthas. The corbels are of the plain angular type, more or less Early Cola in form but not accurately cut. The inner wall of the first tala is circular, making an ambulatory between the circular shrine and the outer wall. The second tala, supported on four piers set against the circular inner wall below, is square in plan with another ambulatory between the hara and the wall supporting the third tala. The hara of the third tala is also square in plan but is placed against a circular wall which supports a round griva-platform with four images of Nandi, and a round griva and sikhara. The two side walls of the ardhamandapa are each decorated with five pilasters, one closely set with the corner pilaster and three spaced to enclose three groups of two flat ribbon pilasters. The hara of the second tala of the vimana is continued round the roof of the ardhamandapa. The latter is supported within by two rows of three pillars each. These pillars are massive, cut square at top and bottom and octagonal between. The corbels are angular but decorated with large even rolls, bound with a plain patta, and, here and there, with some indication of throating. At the entrance to the ardhamandapa are two large two-armed dvarapalas set between pilasters. Since there are no devakoshthas in the first tala the main deities occupied the four niches of the griva, while in the hara of the second and third tala and of the ardhamandapa are set many small sculptures of female dancers. Six of the sub-shrines survive and the basement of a seventh. All are square in plan except that of the Saptamatrikas which is rectangular.

Were it not for the Pandya inscription, which is well over three hundred years later than the latest date which can be put to the construction of the temple, no one, I think, would see this remarkable monument as representative of the Early Cola style of architecture, to which it bears no resemblance in plan and elevation and very little in detail. The complex plan of the vimana, the treatment of its walls and those of the ardhamandapa,

[1] Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, Plate 8, and P. R. Srinivasan, 'Important Works of Art of the Early Chola Period from near Tanjore', *Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India*, 1956–7.

[2] There is an excellent plan in Sastri, p. 699. See also Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, Plates 10, 11a, 13b and 14–17.

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the elaborated but wholly successful design of the tower, the continuation of the hara round the roof of the ardhamandapa and the pillar and corbel forms within, form no part of the fully developed Early Cola style of Vijayalaya's son and successor, Aditya I. The Vijayalaya Colisvara can hardly be interpreted as the earliest, and certainly not as a faltering essay in that style. Rather is it the mature realization of an entirely different line of development within the general South Indian tradition. What that line of development might be can only be indicated in the vaguest terms, since few, if any, structural temples of the pre-Cola period have survived from this region or indeed south of the River Kaveri. Certain general comparisons may, however, be made. The articulation of the vimana walls is similar to that of the first tala of the Varadarajaperumal Temple at Alambakkam (Tiruchirappalli District), though, admittedly, the latter has devakoshthas. The town of Alambakkam was probably a foundation of the Pallava Dantivarman (A.D. 785–836), after whom it is called Dantivarmamangalam in the earliest inscriptions. It is probable that the Varadarajaperumal Temple was built in the first half of the ninth century A.D., and the first tala, though not the second, retains its original form. The continuation of the hara of the second tala of the vimana round the roof of the ardha-mandapa is a common feature on Pallava temples of the late seventh and eighth centuries A.D., and, for that matter, on Early Western Calukya temples of 'southern' type. The massive pillars of the ardhamandapa are freely employed in the seventh century A.D. Pallava rock-cut temples, in which they have more structural point. A late usage in Colamandalam is in the rock-cut Siva temple at Malayadipatti (Tiruchirappalli District), excavated by the Muttaraiyar Videlavidugu, in year 16 of the Pallava Dantivarman. The absence of devakoshthas in the first tala suggests perhaps an influence from further south. Unfortunately, we know nothing of Pandya structural architecture of this period,[1] but it is worth mentioning that the Siva temple at Tiruvalisvaram (Tirunelveli District) of the late tenth century A.D. has no devakoshthas in the first tala and concentrates all its fine sculpture above the prastara.

All this adds up to very little, but there is a further piece of evidence which has a bearing on the date of the Vijayalaya Colisvara. Under the dvarapala on the right side of the door to the ardhamandapa is an inscription which records that the stone temple was built by Sembudi also known as Ilangovadi Araiyan and, having suffered damage from lightning, was repaired by Mallan Viduman, also known as Tennavan Tamiladiyaraiyan. The extent of the damage is not given, nor the interval between it and the construction of the temple, but the fact that both events are recorded together rather suggests that they followed fairly closely upon each other. It has been proposed that Sembudi be identified with Ilangovadi Muttaraiyan who is the second in the known sequence of Muttaraiyar chiefs and may be dated towards the middle of the eighth century A.D. This identification is rejected by Balasubrahmanyam who believes that both the original construction and the repairs took place in the reign of Vijayalaya, and that the Vijayalaya Colisvara is 'the earliest and grandest of the Early Cola structural temples'. K. R. Srinivasan places the construction rather earlier and includes the temple under the rubric 'Transition from the Pallava to the Cola Styles' as a Muttaraiyar monument. He considers it was damaged and repaired 'soon after' in the reign of Vijayalaya and then acquired its name. I find the fact that in

[1] Except by inference from the monolithic Vettuvankovil at Kalugumalai (Tirunelveli District), which may be dated to the late eighth or early ninth centuries A.D. It is, however, unfinished and does not help our argument.

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the inscription below the dvarapala the temple is referred to simply as the stone temple (*karrali*) fair presumptive evidence that even at the time of its repair it had not yet received the name of Vijayalaya Colisvara.[1] I do not think it possible to put back the foundation of the temple to the middle of the eighth century A.D., unless the present fabric is thought to represent a total or substantial remodelling. Nevertheless, in the light of the distinctive features of its style, recognized by K. R. Srinivasan and emphasized here, I would prefer to date the temple, its foundation and repairs, towards the middle of the ninth century A.D., and, until fresh evidence is available, to regard it, with K. R. Srinivasan, as a Muttaraiyar monument. In this border country, fought over during the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. by Pallava and Pandya, we may fairly expect an architecture drawing elements of style from both sources. The most likely patrons of such an architecture would be the Muttaraiyars, the lords of Tanjavur, Vallam, Nemam and Sendalai, whose rock-cut shrines at Malayadipatti and Narttamalai have already been mentioned.

When in the second half of the ninth century A.D. the Early Colas absorbed the Muttaraiyar kingdom, one would have expected them to be heirs in some sort to their style. If the Vijayalaya Colisvara seems to have made no contribution to the formation of the First Phase of the Early Cola style, the small sub-shrines which surround the temple tell a somewhat different story. Here at last we have something which begins to look, on a small scale, like the Early Cola temple as I have described it. The typical sub-shrine comprises a square vimana and an ardhamandapa, both on a base of the simplest Form (A.1). The vimana is of one tala, of Form A.1 except that there are no devakoshthas, the two centre pilasters enclosing a plain wall-section. Though the pilasters are, as on the main temple, unarticulated up to the tadi, the corbels are of the Early Cola plain angular type, accurately cut. The griva and sikhara are round with devakoshthas in the griva for images. The ardhamandapa has no devakoshthas, or niche or recess for dvarapalas, but the side-walls are decorated with the corner engaged pillar and two spaced pilasters.

A small but distinct formal advance is represented by three small temples of simple beauty in this same region, at KALIYAPATTI,[2] VISALUR[3] and TIRUPPUR.[4] They follow the sub-shrines at the Vijayalaya Colisvara as regards base and first tala, except that the pilasters are now of the fully articulated Early Cola type but always with plain angular corbels. All have a square griva and sikhara, the latter at Kaliyapatti and Visalur with a line of jewel decoration below the great lotus. The images set in the devakoshthas of the griva do not all survive, but it seems clear that originally each griva contained four deities, Dakshinamurti, Vishnu, Brahma and Indra, and that on the four corners of the griva-platform sat figures of Nandi. At Kaliyapatti the base only of the ardhamandapa survives, but at Visalur the side-walls are left plain, and at Tiruppur decorated with two spaced pilasters. There are no dvarapalas. The status and date of these three temples[5] are debated. Balasu-

[1] It is worth adding that the name need not have been acquired in Vijayalaya's lifetime. Two records of the fourteenth century A.D. from Vilakkanampundi in the Tiruttani Division of Chittoor District (Nos. 125–6 of 1943–4) refer to a temple which seems to have been named after Vijayalaya, but not, one assumes, before the later part of Aditya I's reign at the earliest.

[2] Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, Plates 18a and b; *Manual*, Plate opposite p. 1026.

[3] *Manual*, Plate opposite p. 1125.

[4] Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, Plate 21.

[5] I have, with K. R. Srinivasan, omitted the small temple at Enadi, included by Balasubrahmanyam (Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, Plate 22). It is the only temple of this group to have a base of Form A.2, and the regular scroll-work on the kudus of the sikhara looks to me not earlier than the tenth century A.D.

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brahmanyam considers them Early Cola and of the period of Vijayalaya. K. R. Srinivasan believes them to be perhaps 'the early survivals of the Pandyan tradition'. He is cautious as to their date but would, I think, place them somewhere in the second half of the ninth century A.D. The single piece of epigraphical evidence is on the temple at Kaliyapatti: a fragmentary inscription of year 18 of a Parakesari, who may be Vijayalaya, if one gives him a long reign, or Parantaka I. My own view is that, until structural temples of this period and type are discovered deep in the Pandya country, the three small temples may be attributed to the Muttaraiyars and to the second half of the ninth century A.D. It is perhaps Pandya influence which excludes the devakoshthas from the first tala of the vimana: otherwise the legacy of the Muttaraiyar style to that of the Early Colas is clear.

Two small and elegant temples are also included by Balasubrahmanyam as Early Cola and of the date of Vijayalaya. They are PANANGUDI[1] and VIRALUR,[2] also in this region. At Panangudi both vimana and ardhamandapa are on a base of Form A.1. The vimana is of one tala of Form A.1, with blocked-out toranas over the now empty devakoshthas. The pilasters are fully articulated with plain angular corbels. The griva and sikhara are square, the devakoshthas in the griva still occupied by small images of Dakshinamurti, Vishnu, Brahma and Indra. On the sikhara there is a line of jewel decoration below the great lotus. The side-walls of the ardhamandapa are decorated with three spaced pilasters. Between the corner engaged pillars and the door are rectangular recesses for the dvarapalas, now missing. Panangudi is thus an Early Cola temple, fully realized but of the simplest design. The question remains whether it is a true primitive of the style. The very simplicity of the design may, of course, be misleading. Moreover, the loss of the main devakoshtha images and the dvarapalas and the little evidence of style to be derived from the four small, abraded images in the griva, make it impossible to insist on too precise a dating. I would prefer to give Panangudi a formal date of about A.D. 875 and to regard it as early in the First Phase, acknowledging that in this region it may turn out to be somewhat later. On the north wall is an incription of year 14 of a Parakesari. The script looks early, and if one is unwilling to attribute the inscription to Vijayalaya, it may fairly be given to Parantaka I. It is easier to hold a more definite opinion regarding the temple at Viralur. This is the most advanced monument in the group under review. Both vimana and ardhamandapa are on a base of Form A.1. The first tala is of Form B.3, the first instance of this treatment in which the centre section of the three exposed walls is drawn forward into a frontispiece. The devakoshthas, with blocked-out toranas, are occupied by Dakshinamurti (south), Vishnu (west) and Bhikshatana (north). The last image has been removed from the devakoshtha but lies outside the temple compound. The pilasters are fully articulated with plain angular corbels. The devakoshthas in the circular griva are empty. The sikhara has a particularly beautiful bell-shaped profile with a circle of jewel decoration below the great lotus. The ardhamandapa is of Form 1.a with two spaced pilasters. The two dvarapalas are missing. The devakoshtha sculptures and several other images lying within the compound, especially a fine Ganesa and Candesvara, are all in full First Phase style. This temple, if not as early as Balasubrahmanyam claims, may certainly be accepted as of the reign of Aditya I.

[1] Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, Plates 19a and b. [2] Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, Plate 20; *Manual*, Plate opposite p. 1122.

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In conclusion we may say, if the preceding analysis is convincing, that whether Vijayalaya ruled for four years or for the twenty or more claimed by some scholars, there is little real evidence for the birth of the Early Cola architectural style during his reign. The small temples at Kaliyapatti, Visalur and Tiruppur may be regarded as a possible source for the Early Cola style, and the temple at Panangudi as an isolated essay in the style of the First Phase. It is not however until we enter the reign of Aditya I that we are on firm ground. The few surviving images on the temples help the problem but little. The only substantial group of sculptures, now in the Pudukkottai Museum, is from the Vijayalaya Colisvara at Narttamalai.[1] It includes Saptamatrikas, a Vinadhara Dakshinamurti, a Vishnu and a Candesvara. The style is, I believe, much closer to that of the figures on the Vettuvankovil at Kalugumalai than to the fully realized style of the First Phase. Here again we regret the paucity of evidence from the Pandya region.

[1] Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, Plates 14–17.

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4

THE FIRST OR ADITYA I PHASE

The Reign of Aditya I (A.D. 870–907)

The Anbil Plates of year 4 of Sundara Cola (A.D. 956–73) mention Aditya I as one by whom the row of large temples of Siva, as if they were banners of his own victories, lofty and indestructible, were built of stone on the two banks of the River Kaveri from the Sahya Mountain (Western Ghats) to the ocean.[1]

Balasubrahmanyam was the first scholar to take this statement seriously, and has listed no less than thirty-eight temple sites in Tiruchirappalli and Tanjavur Districts alone as of the age of Aditya I. At a few sites, for example, Vedaranyam, Tiruvenkadu and Kumara Vayalur, no fabric of the period remains: at many others the fabric, I shall argue, is later than he claims. Nevertheless the great value of his original work remains. Although not a single one of these temples carries an inscription with a foundation date or with a direct reference to Aditya I as founder, almost all carry inscriptions of a Rajakesari who is or is claimed to be Aditya I. Of these Balasubrahmanyam has made a close chronological series within the reign using the year of the presumed earliest surviving Cola inscription on each temple as the date of its construction or as a *terminus ante quem*. Even if these inscriptions do belong to Aditya I—and there is often room for disagreement—the question remains whether such a series can be more than merely formal. If Aditya I was the great builder claimed by the Anbil Plates, he presumably found on most of the sacred sites a brick and timber temple waiting to be converted into stone. To this temple donations would already have been made and recorded. If these records were not inserted in the new fabric, they would have been re-recorded when the stone temple was built, and though we know from several inscriptions how careful the temple authorities were to see that this was properly done, the copies were not always marked as such. Now palaeography is not precise enough a tool to distinguish between, let us say, an inscription of the first years of Aditya I and that inscription re-recorded in his last years or indeed in the reign of his successor.[2] In other words, Balasubrahmanyam's close series can only be allowed to stand if clearly supported by the evidence of the temple itself, the style of its architecture and sculpture. I do not think it will be possible to offer this support unreservedly except in a few instances, either within the reign of Aditya I or in that part of his successor's reign which I include in the First Phase. In other words while I feel confident that the temples I discuss belong to the First Phase, I would not wish to be over nice in dating them within the

[1] T. A. Gopinatha Rao, 'Anbil Plates of Sundara-Cola: the 4th year', *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XV, 1919–20, pp. 44–72, verse 18.

[2] T. V. Mahalingam, 1969, p. 199: 'It would be too much to rely upon palaeography for such short periods of only eight decades, particularly when we come across more than one form of script employed in the inscriptions of the same ruler.' He is speaking of our period.

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Phase. Nevertheless the cumulative evidence does suggest that a fair number of temples can be attributed to the reign of Aditya I himself.

Taking the Anbil Plates more literally perhaps than is justified, I shall begin with the assumption that the greatest period of temple building took place during the period of Aditya I's victories which led, soon after the Battle of Sripurambiyam in about A.D. 885, to the rise of the Colas and finally to the occupation of Tondaimandalam. It was, perhaps, this swift expansion from a small buffer state between two strong neighbours into what was to be for three centuries, with one interruption, the dominant power in South India, which provided both the spirit and the revenue for the apparently sudden outburst of artistic activity. This gives me the opportunity to deal at the outset with two fully mature and typical First Phase temples. While both are classical for style of architecture and sculpture, the first, in excellent condition, is the most complete surviving temple complex of the period, while the second bears evidence for a foundation date very early in the next reign.

The village of KILAIYUR[1] (Tiruchirappalli District) lies some thirty miles from Tiruchirappalli itself on the road to Ariyalur. Kilaiyur, the adjoining village, Melappaluvur, and Kilappaluvur some three miles away, were known as Paluvur and in the Early Cola Period were the home of an influential family of chieftains, originally from Kerala and known as Paluvettaraiyar. Parantaka I married one of their daughters. The Avanikandarpa Isvara Temple at Kilaiyur is entered by a gopura set in the west wall of the prakara. This leads directly to a separate mandapa placed before the main temple, the Agastyesvara. To the north of the main temple and parallel with it lies a smaller temple, the Colisvara. Both face west.

The earliest incontrovertible inscriptions on the Agastyesvara Temple are dated in years 25, 36 and 37 of Parakesari Madiraikonda, that is, Parantaka I: they refer to the temple except the two dated year 36 which refer to both temples. The earliest certain inscriptions on the Colisvara Temple are dated years 24, 26 and 40 of Parantaka I: all refer to the temple. Now Balasubrahmanyam believes that there are two Rajakesari inscriptions on the Agastyesvara Temple which may be attributed to Aditya I: one of year 13 (357 of 1924) recording a gift to both temples by the Paluvettaraiyar Kumaran Kandan, the other of year 22 (360 of 1924) recording a gift to both temples by the Paluvettaraiyar Kumaran Maravan. A third inscription also records a gift to both temples by the Paluvettaraiyar Kumaran Maravan in year 22 of certainly a Rajakesari, though the first part of the title is missing. Balasubrahmanyam suggests that Kumaran Kandan and Kumaran Maravan were brothers. There is a difficulty with the palaeography of the inscription of year 13[2] but I follow Balasubrahmanyam in believing that those of year 22 belong to Aditya I. The two temples are clearly contemporary and I shall assume that they were built in or about year 22 of Aditya I (A.D. 892) rather than in or about year 24 of Parantaka I (A.D. 931).

Both vimana and ardhamandapa of the *Agastyesvara Temple* are on a base of Form C.3. Though the vyalas are closely set the horizontal groove cut on the vertical face of the moulding remains quite clear. The vimana is

[1] Balasubrahmanyam, 1963, pp. 14–25 and Plates 1–16; Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, pp. 107–11 and Plates 50–62.

[2] It bears no *pulli* (mute) marks on the consonants (Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, Plate 62). Moreover Balasubrahmanyam's point that both temples are mentioned together only in the earliest inscriptions is not valid. They are so mentioned in an inscription on the Agastyesvara Temple of year 16 of Rajaraja I (363 of 1924).

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of two talas with a square griva and sikhara. The first tala is of Form B.3. The south devakoshtha is occupied by a standing Siva (Plate 2), the east by a standing Karttikeya and the north by a standing Brahma. The faces of all three figures are recut. Each tympanum is of the most elaborate form. The field of the south contains an eight-armed dancing Siva and that of the east a Gajasura, while that of the north is plain. Images repeating the main deities occupy the devakoshthas on the second tala and griva. The figure of Siva as Vinadhara on the west side of the griva is exceptionally fine (Plate 3). Four figures of Nandi are seated on the griva platform. The ardhamandapa is of Form I.a, the side-walls decorated with two spaced pilasters. The door is flanked by two dvarapalas with two arms and leaning on clubs. The flat roof is supported within by two rows of two pillars each. All pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order with roll corbels, throated and with decorated median band (Plate 2).

The *Colisvara Temple* imitates the larger temple in all architectural details, except that griva and sikhara are round (Plates 4 and 5). The south devakoshtha is occupied by a seated Siva as Dakshinamurti, the east by a seated Karttikeya, and the north by a seated Brahma. The field of the south tympanum contains a seated Siva with Nandi and that of the east a dancing dwarf, while that of the south is worn. The main images are again repeated in the upper devakoshthas. The two dvarapalas are masterpieces.

Both temples survive entire in hard stone from stupi to base. They stand clean and clear so that the form and proportion of each element of the structure no less than the crisp and delicate handling of detail can be appreciated. Together they make an excellent yardstick against which to measure all other First Phase temples, sometimes finer but lacking certain features, or disfigured or obscured by later accretions.

Before leaving Kilaiyur something may be said of the separate mandapa in front of the Agastyesvara Temple and of the gopura. The mandapa is square in plan and wider than the temple. It rests on a base of Form C.4, that is, as the two temples but with a wall-kantha, the rectangular blocks of which are carved with reliefs in miniature. It is enclosed on three sides, with a wide entrance with two pillars *in antis* on the south side. There is also a door on the east side facing the door of the ardhamandapa. The wide entrance, the door and a window in the north wall served to light the interior. The flat roof is supported by a row of four pillars on all four sides making narrow aisles but leaving the centre of the hall free. The pillars within the mandapa and those *in antis* and flanking the door facing the ardhamandapa are fine examples of the type where the base below the mala-sthana is provided with the figure of a seated lion (Plate 1). The two pillars terminating the short walls on the south side have vyalas as bases, leonine but with elephant trunks. Balasubrahmanyam's plan and description are a little misleading. There can be little doubt that the mandapa was wholly separate and square in plan, and that all the structures connecting it with the ardhamandapa and similarly all the structures south of the two short walls enclosing the two pillars *in antis* are late. So are the four plain, round pillars now occupying the centre of the mandapa. Four of the lion-pillars are inscribed in early characters with the names of the donors. No one, I think, would question that the mandapa is contemporary with the two temples.

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The same applies to the gopura. Rectangular in plan and on a base of Form C.3, it reaches to just below the height of the vimana of the Agastyesvara Temple. The first tala is of stone, its long walls pierced by the entrance and designed like the end wall of an ardhamandapa on a large scale. Flanking the entrance are two fine dvarapalas, now framed in grotesque brick and stucco niches which should be removed. Above the vyala-mala are two talas surmounted by a sala, all in brick. Whatever the date of the present, well-proportioned brick fabric, it is fair to assume that it retains its original form.

I have assumed that the construction of the temple-complex in stone at Kilaiyur may be dated not to the middle of the reign of Parantaka I but to about year 22 (A.D. 892) of Aditya I. This is supported by a monument where the evidence is good: though it indicates that the temple was built at the very beginning of the next reign, it best makes its point here.

The *Candrasekhara Temple* at TIRUCHCHENDURAI lies on the south bank of the River Kaveri almost six miles west of Tiruchirappalli.[1] Here an inscription reveals factual information about the *foundation* of the temple. In year 3 of a Parakesari (316 of 1903), Pudi Adichcha Pidariyar, Queen of Arikulakesariyar, son of Koparakesaripanmar, made provision for offerings to the deity of the temple which she had constructed of stone (karrali). The same lady made offerings in year 2 of a Parakesari (310 and 319 of 1903) when this temple is also referred to as a karrali. Now Arikula was a son of Parantaka I, so we may be confident that the stone temple was already in existence in A.D. 909. There is, however, another inscription on the temple of year 23 of Rajakesari (320 of 1903) in which Pudi Adichcha Pidariyar also makes a gift. This Rajakesari is clearly Aditya I but as in this inscription the temple is not referred to as a karrali, I prefer to believe that the temple was constructed of stone in or about A.D. 909 and replaced a brick temple which Pudi Adichcha Pidariyar had already patronized.[2]

Both vimana and ardhamandapa of the Tiruchchendurai Temple are on a base of Form C.3. The vimana is of two talas with a square griva and sikhara, all of stone but obscured by stucco. The first tala is of Form B.3. The north and west devakoshthas are empty, the south contains a good Vrsvahana in only fair condition. The tympana are of the most elaborate form but covered with paint. There are excellent images in the second tala, Dakshinamurti (south), Vishnu (west) and Brahma (north), and beautiful small figures of adorers. The ardhamandapa is of Form I.a, the side-walls decorated with three spaced pilasters. The dvarapalas, two-armed, are large and fine. The roof is supported within by two rows of two pillars each. All pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order with roll corbels, throated and with decorated median band.

Tiruchchendurai is thus identical in base (Form C.3), first tala (Form B.3) and ardhamandapa (Form I.a) with the Agastyesvara Temple at Kilaiyur. If the former is no later than year 2 of Parantaka I, there is some support for believing that the latter is as early as year 22 of Aditya I. On the further assumption that the two

[1] Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, pp. 93–7 and Plates 40–1.

[2] These inscriptions present an interesting problem. If Arikula of year 3 of Parakesari was about twenty years of age and was the same as Arinjaya who perhaps succeeded Gandaraditya in A.D. 956, he must have been about sixty-eight on his accession. But Pudi Adichcha Pidariyar was presumably at least fourteen years of age when she made a donation in A.D. 893. Unless Arikula married a lady much older than himself he must have been about twenty in A.D. 893 and succeeded at the age of about eighty-three. This would make Parantaka I about a hundred years old at his death, assuming that he fathered Arikula about the age of twenty.

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sites are typical for architecture and sculpture, it is possible to associate with them other temples where the evidence of inscriptions support a construction date in or around the last decade of the ninth century A.D.

The *Saptarishisvara Temple* at LALGUDI[1] lies about thirteen miles from Tiruchirappalli on the road to Ariyalur. On the north wall of the temple are four inscriptions, one of year 5 of a Pandya, one of year 13 of the Pandya Varaguna II (A.D. 874), one of year 23 of the Pallava Nripatunga (A.D. 882), and one of year 13 of a Rajakesari who is almost certainly Aditya I. It is generally agreed that these are later copies. It is, however, conceded that a donation of year 27 of a Rajakesari (125 of 1928–9), on the basis of palaeography and the high regnal year, is an original inscription of Aditya I. An inscription of year 5 (117 of 1928–9) of a Parakesari registering a gift by Paluvettaraiyar Kumaran Maravan, whom we have already met at Kilaiyur in year 22 of a Rajakesari, may certainly be ascribed to Parantaka I. Incontrovertible inscriptions of Parantaka I again cover the middle and second half of his reign, years 20 to 40.

Both vimana and ardhamandapa of the Lalgudi Temple are on a base of Form C.4, which we have already met on the mandapa in front of the Agastyesvara Temple at Kilaiyur. The vyala-mala composed of warriors mounted on animals, the sculptured blocks of the wall-kantha, and indeed, the whole base are exceptionally fine. The first tala is of Form B.1.[2] The south devakoshtha contains a superb standing Vinadhara Dakshinamurti, the east an Ardhanari and the north a Bhikshatana. The faces of both the latter images are recut. The tympana are of the most elaborate form but only in fair condition. Above the single tala the griva and sikhara are round. They are covered with painted stucco but the griva images may be seen, Dakshinamurti in the south, Alinganamurti in the east and Brahma in the north. The ardhamandapa is of the rare, perhaps unique Form II.a. Though it is separated from the vimana by recessed wall-spaces and form a distinct architectural unit, it carries no devakoshthas on the side-walls, which are decorated with two spaced pilasters. There is of course no *antarala* as claimed by Balasubrahmanyam. The dvarapalas, two-armed, are superb. The roof is supported within by two rows of two pillars each. All pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order with roll corbels, throated and with decorated median band. It seems there is nothing in the style of architecture or sculpture to prevent us from accepting the date of the construction of Lalgudi as in or about year 27 of Aditya I (A.D. 897).

It will be convenient to mention here two temples where the fabric no longer exists but something is known of it. The *Darukavanesvara Temple* at TIRUPPARAITTURAI lies on the south bank of the River Kaveri some eleven miles west of Tiruchirappalli. Before it was destroyed the inscriptions on the ancient temple were copied. An inscription of year 27 (258 of 1903) of a Rajakesari may fairly be ascribed to Aditya I. A second Rajakesari inscription of year 14 (246 of 1903) may also belong to him. There are three certain inscriptions of Parantaka I of years 20, 28 and 30 (255, 263 and 245 of 1903). Fortunately a photograph survives of the vimana of the lost temple.[3] It was on a base of Form A.1. The first tala was of Form B.3. The south and north

1 Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, pp. 97–9 and Plate 42.
2 The east wall is not as shown in the plan in Balasubrahmanyam, 1966.
3 Douglas Barrett, 'Two Lost Early Cola Temples', *Oriental Art*, Vol. XVII, No. 1, Spring 1971.

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devakoshthas cannot be seen on the photograph but the west was occupied by a late Ardhanari, which still survives. The second tala and round griva and sikhara, though covered with peeling stucco were clearly of stone. The seated Brahma and Dakshinamurti which occupied the griva also survive. The ardhamandapa is not visible in the photograph but the magnificent dvarapalas, two-armed, are still in the modern temple. All pillars and pilasters were of the full Early Cola order with roll corbels, throated and with median band. The fabric and the style of the dvarapalas, Dakshinamurti and Brahma support a foundation date of in or about year 27 of Aditya I (A.D. 897).

The *Vaidyanathasvami Temple* at TIRUMALAVADI[1] lies on the north bank of the River Kollidam directly opposite the famous village of Tiruvaiyaru. A Rajakesari inscription of year 23 (18 of 1920) and two of year 27 (14 and 15 of 1920) may be ascribed to Aditya I. There are three inscriptions of Parantaka I of the years 12, 18 and 20. None however is original but was re-engraved when the First Phase temple was destroyed and a new one built some time between year 28 of Rajaraja I and year 14 of Rajendra I (A.D. 1013–26). Nothing remains of the fabric of the earlier temple but I was fortunate to discover within the compound three of the original devakoshtha images, a Vishnu, a Brahma and a Durga, all splendid things in First Phase style.

On the secure basis that Tiruchchendurai is not later than A.D. 909 it seems fair to use the evidence of the inscriptions and to assume that the last decade of the ninth century A.D. was occupied by Kilaiyur (year 22), Tirumalavadi (year 23), Lalgudi and Tirupparaitturai (year 27).

The problem of the first half of Aditya I's reign is best approached through the Saptasthanas, the seven sacred places associated with the yearly celebration of a common festival in honour of the marriage of Nandi or Vrishabhadeva. The centre of the group is Tiruvaiyaru on the south bank of the River Kaveri, within a few miles of which lie Tiruppalanam, Tillaisthanam, Tiruppunturutti, Tiruchchatturai, Tiruvedikudi and Kandiyur. On the evidence of the inscriptions Balasubrahmanyam believes that the temples were constructed of stone in the following order: Tiruppalanam (year 2), Tiruvaiyaru (year 5), Kandiyur (year 21 of the Pallava Nripatunga), Tillaisthanam (year 8), Tiruppunturutti (year 11), Tiruchchatturai (year 13) and Tiruvedikudi (year 19). The evidence of the fabrics does not, in my view, support such a sequence.

On the *Apatsahayesvara Temple* at TIRUPPALANAM[2] there are five Rajakesari inscriptions with high regnal years: year 21 (155 of 1927–8: *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. XIII, No. 295); year 22 (169 of 1927–8: *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. XIII, No. 299); year 23 (161 of 1927–8: *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. XIII, No. 304); year 25 (170 of 1927–8: *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. XIII, No. 315); and year 26 (177 of 1927–8: *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. XIII, No. 319). These may be safely ascribed to Aditya I. There are four other inscriptions of year 2 (143 of 1927–8: *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. XIII, No. 21); year 4 (149 of 1927–8: *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. XIII, No. 101); year 12 (167 of 1927–8: *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. XIII, No. 230) and year 13 (142 of 1927–8: *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. XIII, No. 237). Balasubrahmanyam attributes these

[1] Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, pp. 131–2.

[2] Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, pp. 153–6 and Plates 78–80. Plate 78b is a late Appar, Plate 80a a bronze Vishnu of about A.D. 1030 and Plate 80b a famous bronze Nataraja of about A.D. 1000.

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also to Aditya I except for that of year 12 where he seems to follow G. V. Srinivasa Rao who considers the Rajakesari in question to be Parantaka II. As regards the three remaining inscriptions G. V. Srinivasa Rao is non-committal, but does attribute to Aditya I on grounds of palaeography an inscription of year 13 (163 of 1931: *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. XIII, No. 239) at Tiruchchatturai which records a gift probably made by Nangi Pangi of Tanjavur, who is mentioned as donor in the inscription of year 13 at Tiruppalanam. A rich series of inscriptions of Parantaka I ranges from year 3 to year 35.

Tiruppalanam is the most elaborately planned of all First Phase temples. Both vimana and ardhamandapa are on a base of Form A.2. The first tala is of Form E.1., that is, as D.3 but with the frontispiece organized in two planes and the whole façade in four. This Form is not used elsewhere in the First or Second Phase and, indeed, is found only once in the Third, on the Achalesvara Shrine at Tiruvarur (in or just before A.D. 991). Unfortunately the devakoshtha figures, two-armed Sivas (?), are of stucco. In the recessed wall-sections the adorers, male with one hand on hip and the other holding a lotus, are set in devakoshthas: they are obscured with painted stucco. The second tala and the square griva and sikhara are probably of stone but are also covered with stucco. The ardhamandapa is of the articulated Form III.b, the only example in the whole of the Early Cola Period. The south devakoshtha is occupied by Ganesa, the north by Durga: both are original but painted. The tympana are elaborate. The three surviving male adorers are, however, clean and of fine quality.[1] The dvarapalas two-armed, are in fair condition. The door projects from the end wall and is flanked by two complete round pillars. The four pillars within are modern. Pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order with roll corbels, throated and with median band. Balasubrahmanyam errs in saying there are panjaras on either side of the devakoshthas of the vimana and that there is an antarala.

The uniquely complex plan of vimana and ardhamandapa taken together is approached only by the Brahmapurisvara Temple at Pullamangai (described in the next chapter), where the earliest incontrovertible inscription is of year 6 of Parantaka I. Clearly the fabric could not be used of itself to support a very early date within the reign of Aditya I. It is, indeed, much more 'advanced' than Kilaiyur, Lalgudi or Tiruchchendurai. Nevertheless, relying on Aditya I's reputation as expressed in the Anbil Plates and on the inscriptions with high regnal years (21 to 26), I would prefer to place Tiruppalanam in the last decade of the ninth century A.D. rather than to bring it up into the early part of the reign of Parantaka I. On the other hand, to put back the date of Tiruppalanam to year 2, is to claim that the most elaborately designed of First Phase temples is also the earliest. It is worth mentioning that at Tiruppalanam a few pillars have the torus of the padma carved with munai: a small point but perhaps significant.

My view of Tiruppalanam derives some support from the *Vedapurisvara Temple* at TIRUVEDIKUDI.[2] The latter bears few inscriptions but three of a Rajakesari of years 19 (67 of 1895) and 25 (65 and 69 of 1895) may fairly be ascribed to Aditya I. Both vimana and ardhamandapa are on a base of Form A.2. The first tala is of Form D.3, that is, as Tiruppalanam but without the frontispiece organized in two planes. The south deva-koshtha is occupied by a late Dakshinamurti, the west by a standing Ardhanari[3] and the north by Brahma.

[1] Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, Plates 79a, b and c. [2] Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, pp. 156–7.
[3] A unique feature of this image is that the right half of the body is female and the left half male.

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The two latter images are of the period but in poor condition. The devakoshthas do not pierce the wall-kantha. The female adorers in the recessed wall-sections are set in devakoshthas, but are badly worn. The tympana are elaborate but detail is blurred. The second tala and round griva and sikhara are of stone but covered with plaster. The ardhamandapa is of Form I.b. The south devakoshtha is empty, while the north contains Durga, the best preserved of all the images. The tympana are again elaborate and sharp beneath the disfiguring whitewash. The dvarapalas, two-armed, are good. The two rows of two pillars each supporting the roof are of the full Early Cola order with roll corbels, throated and with decorated median band. The corbels on the exterior of the temple are, however, of the plain angular type. The entire fabric is in very poor condition but, with Balasubrahmanyam, I see no reason to reject a foundation date of in or about year 19 of Aditya I (A.D. 889). The plan of the vimana is a little less elaborate than at Tiruppalanam; of the ardhamandapa much less so, though for the first time Form I.b is used which places a full devakoshtha on each of the long walls.

One other Saptasthana shrine uses Form D.3 on the first tala of the vimana, the *Gritasthanesvara Temple* at TILLAISTHANAM.[1] Both vimana and ardhamandapa are on a base of Form A.1. Balasubrahmanyam says that on the vimana the south devakoshtha is occupied by Dakshinamurti, the west by Vishnu and the north by a single-headed Brahma. This is incorrect. All three devakoshthas are occupied by virtually identical figures, four-armed, the lower left hand on hip and the upper holding a snake, the lower right hand in *abhaya mudra* and the upper holding a rosary.[2] This figure is the indevakoshtha behind the late Dakshinamurti.[3] All three figures presumably represent Siva. There seem to be no tympana. The adorers in the recessed wall-sections, all now missing, were set in devakoshthas. The second tala and square griva and sikhara are of stone but covered with painted stucco. In the second tala can be seen original figures of Dakshinamurti (south), seated Vishnu (west) and seated Brahma (north), and in the griva Bhikshatana (south), standing Vishnu (west) and standing Brahma (north). The ardhamandapa is of Form I.a with two spaced pilasters. The dvarapalas, two-armed, are very fine. Of the four pillars within two are original. Pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order with roll corbels, throated and with plain median band.

There is a rich series of Rajakesari inscriptions at Tillaisthanam. Some may be securely attributed to Aditya I. One of year 8 (38 of 1895), records a gift of gold made by Kannaradeva, son of Adittan, the Cola Perumanadigal. Another, undated but presumably belonging to the last decade of the ninth century A.D. or a little later, mentions the conquest of Tondaimandalam by Aditya I (286 of 1911: *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, No. 89). A third of year 17 (42 of 1895) records a gift by Tennavan Madeviyar, who is mentioned at Tiruppalanam as queen of Rajakesari in an inscription of year 10 of Parantaka I (166 of 1927–8). A fourth, also of year 17 (41 of 1895), records a gift by another queen. Other Rajakesari inscriptions of years 11 (35 of 1895), 14 (36 and 37 of 1895) and 15 (39 of 1895) are attributed to Aditya I by Balasubrahmanyam. G. V. Srinivasa Rao seems prepared to accept only those of years 14 and 17 (*South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. XIII, Nos. 247, 248 and 273). Parantaka I's inscriptions range from year 14 to year 35.

If Tiruvedikudi is dated about A.D. 889, Tillaisthanam may, on the evidence of the fabric, be considered

[1] Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, pp. 160–4 and Plate 82. [2] Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, Plate 82a. [3] Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, Plate 82b.

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to be contemporary or a little earlier. Both employ the vimana Form D.3, while the ardhamandapa of Tillaisthanam retains the simple Form I.a, Tiruvedikudi using Form I.b. Now, for once, the attribution of a Rajakesari inscription before about year 15 is absolutely firm. Can Tillaisthanam be as early as year 8 (A.D. 878)? It may seem academic merely to argue about a decade, but hitherto I have been disinclined to place any fully developed First Phase fabric before the Battle of Sripurambiyam. This was not because I wished to maintain that a movement from simple to more elaborate design necessarily indicated a real chronological progression: the simplest vimana Form (D.1) of Group D, for example, seems first to appear at Andanallur, firmly dated in or just before A.D. 918 in the next reign. It was because it seemed reasonable to associate the apparently sudden outburst of building activity with the social and political energy which led to the expansion of the Cola kingdom. I should, however, emphasize that the date I have accepted for the Battle of Sripurambiyam (about A.D. 885) is by no means precisely fixed. This crucial event may have taken place up to five years earlier and the whole decade from A.D. 880 to A.D. 890 occupied by the steady expansion of the Cola.[1]

To return to Tillaisthanam, there is one piece of evidence which makes it difficult to argue that the firmly attributed inscription of year 8 was re-engraved on a newly built stone temple about A.D. 890. Sections of an ancient mandapa survive to the east of the temple. On the south wall of the temple itself is an inscription (284 of 1911: *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. XIII, No. 247), dated year 14 of a Rajakesari. It states that Nangai Sattaperumanar, the mistress of the king, donated thirty kalanju of gold which was used towards the construction of a *namana mandapa* (bathing hall) for the deity. The same lady also made a donation at Tiruppunturutti (105 of 1931: *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. XIII, No. 219) in year 11 of a Rajakesari. On the surviving mandapa are incontrovertible inscriptions of Parantaka I dated years 25 (31 of 1895), 27 (33 of 1895) and 44 (25 of 1895). The inscription of year 25 is well-known to students of architecture. It gives the names of various parts of the temple where the inscription was engraved and specifically mentions the namana mandapa. It follows with as near certainty as one can hope for that the surviving mandapa is the namana mandapa mentioned in year 25 of Parantaka I and constructed in year 14 of a Rajakesari who must be Aditya I. Consequently the shrine itself is as early as year 14 and possibly as early as year 8 of Aditya I. This conclusion seems ineluctable. Tillaisthanam, therefore, a fully developed First Phase temple on the simplest base (Form A.1) and with the simplest ardhamandapa (Form I.a) but with an elaborate articulation of the vimana (Form D.3), may be dated as early as A.D. 884 and possibly as early as A.D. 878.

The *Panchanadisvara Temple* at TIRUVAIYARU,[2] the centre of what is now a vast temple-complex, is one of the most famous and sacred of South Indian shrines. Both vimana and ardhamandapa stand on a base of Form C.3. The first tala is of Form B.3. The south devakoshtha contains a late Dakshinamurti, the west an Ardhanari, original but in poor condition, and the north a late Brahma. The second tala and the round griva and sikhara are covered with painted stucco. The ardhamandapa, it may be assumed, is of Form I.a: both side

[1] Professor T. V. Mahalingam's late date of A.D. 895 for the Battle of Sripurambiyam is, I believe, difficult to accommodate within any pattern of political or artistic development.

[2] Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, pp. 149–52.

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walls are built up, but at least two pilasters are visible. There is of course no antarala as claimed by Balasubrahmanyam. The dvarapalas, two-armed, are good. The door is flanked by full pilasters. Of the four pillars within the corbels are original and the shafts modern. Pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order, with roll corbels, throated and with median band. Sections of an ancient mandapa on the same Form of base survive before the east end of the temple. The Panchanadisvara Temple, despite its great historical interest, is now something of a fragment.

On the temple itself there are eight incontrovertible inscriptions of Parantaka I ranging from year 16 (227 of 1894 and 137 of 1918) to year 22 (225 of 1894). There are only four inscriptions of Rajakesari of years 5 (135 of 1918: *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. XIII, No. 116), 9 (230 of 1894), 10 (224 of 1894) and year lost (228 of 1894). On the ancient mandapa there are three certain inscriptions of Parantaka I of years 14 (242 of 1894) and 31 (241 and 248 of 1894), and a very rich series ranging from year 12 to year 26 of a Rajakesari. One inscription of year 20 of Rajakesari (251 of 1894), recording an endowment by a mistress of Kannaradeva, may certainly be attributed to Aditya I. Those of years 17 (235 and 244 of 1894), 19 (238 and 239 of 1894), 21 (236 of 1894), 25 (243 of 1894) and 26 (237 of 1894) may also be fairly accepted. If the ancient mandapa is dated about A.D. 890, the temple itself may be accepted as a little earlier. The fabric, identical in Form of base, vimana and ardhamandapa with Tiruchchendurai, would support this date.

The earliest inscription (17 of 1895) on the *Virattanesvara Temple* at KANDIYUR[1] is dated year 21 of the Pallava Nripatunga, which is equivalent to A.D. 880 in my chronology and to A.D. 876 in that of Balasubrahmanyam. There is no inscription attributable to Aditya I and only three certain inscriptions of Parantaka I, dated in years 11 (16 of 1895), 26 (19 of 1895) and 46 (15 of 1895). Both vimana and ardhamandapa are on a base of Form C.4 (the base is covered up to the wall-kantha, but may be seen entire below the pranala). The sculptured blocks of the wall-kantha are excellent. The first tala is of Form B.3. The south devakoshtha is occupied by a late Dakshinamurti, the east by a late Lingodbhava and the north by a late Brahma. The tympana are elaborate but obscured by whitewash. The second tala and probably the round griva and sikhara are of stone, but the two latter are covered with plaster. The ardhamandapa is of Form I.b. The south devakoshtha is occupied by a Third Phase Bhikshatana, while the north is empty. Before the latter stands a monumental figure of Durga (Plate 35), which will be discussed under the Second Phase. The tympana are elaborate, but covered with whitewash. The door has good scrolling with a small female figure at the base of each jamb. There are no dvarapalas. All pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order, but while the corbels on the exterior are of the plain angular type, those of the four pillars within the ardhamandapa are rolled and throated. Of the loose sculptures in the compound a small but very attractive seated Ardhanari may well have occupied the east devakoshtha of the griva, while a Surya is certainly an original *parivaradevata* figure. I am impressed by the isolation of Nripatunga's record and the total absence of inscriptions attributable to Aditya I, and would claim no more that the temple was built of stone in or about year 11 of Parantaka I (A.D. 918).

[1] Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, pp. 146–9 and Plates 77a, b and c.

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THE REIGN OF ADITYA I (A.D. 870–907)

The *Pushpavanesvara Temple* at TIRUPPUNTURUTTI[1] poses a problem. Four Rajakesari inscriptions may be attributed to Aditya I. One of year 11 has already been mentioned in the discussion of Tillaisthanam. Another (94 of 1931) bears the regnal year of 26. In the two remaining inscriptions the years are lost (102 and 103 of 1931). Parantaka I's inscriptions range from year 11 to year 34.

Both vimana and ardhamandapa are on a base of Form A.1. The first tala is of Form B.1. The south devakoshtha is occupied by a seated Vinadhara Dakshinamurti, the west by an Ardhanari and the north by a clothed Bhikshatana. All three images are impressive examples of the style of the Second Phase, as is a very beautiful standing Candesvara within the compound. The tympana are too abraded to interpret. The round griva and sikhara are of brick with late stone Nandis on the griva-platform. The ardhamandapa is of Form I.a with three spaced pilasters. The dvarapalas, two-armed, are of Early Cola style. Balasubrahmanyam says the ardhamandapa is supported by lion-pillars: there are no pillars. All pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order with roll corbels, throated and with plain median band. The simple plan and the blurred and rather coarse detail give little support to a close dating. I am prepared to believe that the temple is as early as the three devakoshtha images. If it is claimed that the fabric is as early as year 11 of Aditya I, it will have to be admitted that the devakoshtha images are later insertions.

The evidence of the inscriptions on the *Odanavanesvara Temple* at TIRUCHCHATTURAI[2] has been admirably presented by Balasubrahmanyam and G. V. Srinivasa Rao. Rajakesari inscriptions of years 13 (163 of 1931), 14 (188 of 1931), 17 (157 and possibly 149 of 1931), 23 (164 of 1931), and 25 (186 of 1931) may be confidently ascribed to Aditya I. Parantaka I's inscriptions range from year 11 to year 46.

The entire fabric is in poor condition. Both vimana and ardhamandapa are on a base of Form A.1, with a fairly heavy cyma recta moulding with lotus petals between the jagati and upana. (A similar cyma recta moulding is found on a base of Form A.2 at the Nagesvara Temple in Kumbakonam, which will be discussed in the next chapter.) The vimana is of two talas with a square griva and sikhara. The second tala, griva and sikhara are heavily obscured with painted stucco. The first tala is of Form B.3. The west and north devakoshthas contain four-armed standing figures of Siva, similar to those which occupy all three devakoshthas at Tillaisthanam except that the upper left hand holds an antelope and the lower a fruit. The south devakoshtha, now occupied by a late Dakshinamurti, probably also contained a standing Siva. The ardhamandapa is of Form I.a with two spaced pilasters. The two-armed dvarapalas survive in fair condition. Pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order, with roll corbels, throated and with median band.

The similar but unusual disposition of the images on the vimanas at Tillaisthanam and Tiruchchatturai inclines one to accept the Rajakesari inscriptions at the latter site of years 13, 14 and 17. If Tillaisthanam is as early as year 14 (A.D. 884) or year 8 (A.D. 878), Tiruchchatturai may well be as early as year 13 (A.D. 883).

My view of the Saptasthana temples is briefly as follows. Tiruppalanam, in all respects the most elaborately planned of First Phase temples, belongs to the last decade of the ninth century A.D. It is preceded by Tiruvedikudi

[1] Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, pp. 164–6. [2] Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, pp. 157–60.

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(about A.D. 889), which is roughly contemporary with the Panchandisvara Temple at Tiruvaiyaru. Kandiyur is probably no earlier than year 11 of Parantaka I (A.D. 918), while Tiruppunturutti may well be, as the main devakoshtha images suggest, no earlier than the Second Phase. It is a reasonable assumption that it was after the Battle of Sripurambiyam in about A.D. 885 that Aditya I began to rebuild in hard stone the brick temples already venerated and patronized by his predecessors and his own family and nobles. Nevertheless we have in Tillaisthanam a fully mature First Phase temple with a vimana of Form D.3 which may be dated as early as A.D. 884 or A.D. 878, while Tiruchchatturai is roughly contemporary (A.D. 883).

There are two other candidates for an early date within the reign of Aditya I. The *Sundaresvara Temple* at TIRUKKATTALI[1] is situated four miles to the east of the town of Pudukkottai in Tiruchirappalli District. The earliest incontrovertible inscription is of year 35 of Parantaka I, in which the deity is referred to as the god of the sacred stone temple (*tirukkarali*) of Karkurichi. He is similarly described in inscriptions of years 2 and 9 of a Parakesari. There is also an inscription of year 3 of a Rajakesari in which there is no reference to the *stone* temple. It is usually assumed that the latter inscription, in which, of course, there is no mention of the foundation of the temple, may be attributed to Aditya I. Both vimana and ardhamandapa are on a base of Form A.1. The first tala is of Form B.3. The south devakoshtha is occupied by a four-armed Tripurantaka, the west by Vishnu (not Lingodbhava, as stated by Balasubrahmanyam) and the north by Brahma. The elaborate tympana are supported on a narrow vyala-mala. The second tala and the square griva and sikhara are of stone but with much disfiguring stucco. In the devakoshthas of the second tala are a Bhikshatana (south); a Brahma (north); and a Vishnu (west), made up of brick and stucco. In the devakoshthas of the griva are a Vinadhara Dakshinamurti (south); a late stucco Varaha (west), probably concealing the original; and a Brahma (north), original but heavily stuccoed. The ardhamandapa is of Form I.a with three spaced pilasters. The dvarapalas, two-armed, are original. The door is a small, plain rectangular opening flanked by complete pilasters. Pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order with roll corbels, throated and with median band. At the corners of the vimana and its frontispieces rearing vyalas are inserted between kapota and phalaka; this is the first time we have met this feature. There are seven, perhaps original, sub-shrines, containing the original images: Surya; the Saptamatrikas with Vinadhara Dakshinamurti and Ganesa; Ganesa; Karttikeya; Jyestha; Candra and Candesvara.[2] An eighth sub-shrine contains a Late Cola Bhairava with dog. In plan and elevation the Tirukkattali temple comes very close to Tiruchchendurai and the Agastyesvara at Kilaiyur. The three main images, which are unusually small, seem to have nothing in their style to indicate a particularly early date, though they are not easily comparable with images on temples closer to the main centres of artistic production. I would prefer to attribute the inscriptions of years 2 and 9 of a Parakesari, in which the temple is referred to as made of stone, to Parantaka I, and to consider Tirukkattali as contemporary with Tiruchchendurai.

The *Sundaresvara Temple* at SENDALAI,[3] on the south bank of the River Kudamurutti, a branch of the River Kaveri, presents altogether a different problem. It has several features which set it apart from all other

[1] Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, pp. 89–92 and Plates 36–9 and plan.
[2] Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, Plates 38 and 39. Plate 38a is really a Candra and Plate 38b a Surya.
[3] Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, pp. 137–40 and Plates 72a–e.

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temples of the First Phase. The bases of the vimana and ardhamandapa are of different forms, both unique. The base of the vimana[1] follows Form B.3.a, but the type of kantha with vertical surface cut unequally by a horizontal groove continues undecorated except below the corner engaged pillars where the ends of the two floor joists are carved, the one with a single vyala and the other with a large plain projecting member bevelled top and bottom and at the sides. Below the intermediate pilasters, of which there are two on each façade, the ends of the floor joists are indicated by a smaller bevelled member projecting from the horizontal groove. Moreover the curve of the kumuda is asymmetrical and bun-shaped, and lacks the two rows of lotus petals, like the already mentioned kumuda at Cave II on the Melamalai Hill at Narttamalai of about A.D. 866. The base of the ardhamandapa is no less strange. It is of Form C. 4, except that the jagati is smoothly curved without lotus petals and the kantha is completely undecorated but for small bevelled members projecting from the horizontal groove below the pilasters. The rectangular blocks of the wall-kantha are covered with miniature scenes, original but blurred. Nor is this all. The three façades of the vimana have no devakoshthas, but are decorated merely with two spaced pilasters. The ardhamandapa is of Form I.a with three spaced pilasters. The door is plain and flanked by splendid dvarapalas, two-armed, slender and leaning on long cylindrical clubs. On the ardhamandapa the usual frieze of bhutas beneath the kapota is replaced by a series of bevelled blocks representing the ends of the roof joists. The walls of the ardhamandapa are lower than those of the vimana, so that the final vyala-mala of the former abuts against the kapota of the latter. The second tala of the vimana and the round griva and sikhara are of brick and stucco. All pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order with roll corbels, throated and with plain median band.

Sendalai was part of the small kingdom of the Muttaraiyar, superseded by the Cola. Everything about the temple, especially its 'archaic' bases and the absence of devakoshthas, suggests an early date, and I would claim that here we have a monument transitional between the Muttaraiyar style and the fully mature First Phase style of the last two decades of the ninth century A.D. Unfortunately Sendalai seems to be unique, but inscriptions do support the evidence of the fabric. Two inscriptions of year 24 of a Rajakesari may be accepted without hesitation as of Aditya I (*South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. XIII, Nos. 310 and 311). One of year 9 (*South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. XIII, No. 202) may perhaps be similarly ascribed. An important inscription of year 8 of a Rajakesari (*South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. XIII, No. 187) records an endowment by Vayiramegan Pidaran for various services within and the maintenance of a hall (*ambalan*) erected by him. A second inscription of year 9 (63 of 1897) refers to a gift for the daily exposition of the Mahabharata in the hall built by Vayiramegan Pidaran.

There survives a mandapa between the temple and a second late mandapa which contains four famous Muttaraiyar pillars from Niyamam. At the east end of the mandapa are two dvarapalas of the First Phase. I regret I have not studied this mandapa adequately but I believe it to be contemporary with the temple. If it is the one mentioned in the inscriptions, the temple will be as early as year 8 of Aditya I, and earlier again if one attributes, with Balasubrahmanyam, a Rajakesari inscription of year 2 (61 of 1897) to the same king. Balasubrahmanyam illustrates three figures now removed from the temple compound to the Tanjavur Art Gallery.[2]

[1] Just visible in Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, Plate 72d.
[2] Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, Plates 72a–c. On Plate 72a is a Vishnu not a Brahma, as stated by Balasubrahmanyiam.

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The seated Vishnu, Brahma and Siva presumably occupied devakoshthas in the second tala or griva, while the small female figure was a supporter of the second tala. All three are of great beauty and, I suggest, early within the First Phase.

The *Airavatesvara Temple* at NIYAMAM, the modern village of Nemam (Tanjavur District), lies on the south bank of the River Kaveri a mile from Tirukkattuppalli on the road to the Grand Anicut.[1] Before the rise of the Cola Niyamam was also a capital of the Muttaraiyar dynasty. There was a second temple at Niyamam, dedicated to Mahakattup-Pidariyar and built by a Muttaraiyar called Perumbidugu in the eighth century A.D. This temple no longer exists but four granite pillars were removed to the Sundaresvara Temple at the nearby village of Sendalai. On one pillar is an inscription of year 18 of a Rajakesari, certainly Aditya I, recording a gift by Marambavai, the queen of the Pallava Nandivarman III. The earliest inscription on the Airavatesvara Temple (16 of 1899) records a gift by the same lady for offerings to the deity and to the parivara-devatas. Balasubrahmanyam errs in saying that it is dated year 24 of a Rajakesari. The regnal year is lost, but we may assume a date round about year 18. Another inscription (14 of 1899), undated but of Parakesari 'who took Madura and Ceylon', may be given to Parantaka I and dated in or after A.D. 923. There is a second inscription of probably year 18 of Parantaka I; it is not on the temple but on a slab built into the south wall of the temple compound.

Balasubrahmanyam's description of the temple is brief and incorrect. The vimana is on a base of Form A.2. The rectangular blocks on both kantha and wall-kantha are carved with miniature reliefs, now worn. The first tala is of Form B.3. The south devakoshtha contains a late Dakshinamurti, the west a Vishnu (face re-cut) and the north a Brahma. The two latter images are in very poor condition and not earlier than the Third Phase. The tympana are of the elaborate form but blurred. The main images are repeated in the second tala. Here again the images are in poor condition but the small supporting adorers are typical of the First Phase. The square griva and sikhara are covered with painted plaster. All pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order with roll corbels, throated and with plain median band. The ardhamandapa has been destroyed, only a foot or so of the north wall remaining. No dvarapalas survive on the site. The inscriptional evidence is small and inconclusive, and I think it unwise to claim more for the Airavatesvara Temple than that the fabric belongs to the First Phase.

Something may be said here of the *Balasubrahmanya Temple* at KANNANUR,[2] situated far south of our other monuments beyond the River Vellar in Pandya country. The evidence of inscriptions is confined to one (date built up) of probably a Rajakesari, accepted by Balasubrahmanyam as Aditya I. Whether an inscription of this king would appear so far south is, one supposes, open to question. Both vimana and ardhamandapa are on a base of Form A.1. The first tala is of Form A.1. The north and west devakoshthas are empty, while the south is occupied by a late Dakshinamurti. The tympana are merely blocked out. The griva and sikhara are round. The latter has a beautiful bell-shaped profile with a line of jewel decoration below the great lotus. On

[1] Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, pp. 142–4.

[2] Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, pp. 86–9 and Plates 34–5.

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the griva-platform are four elephants, the vehicle of Karttikeya (Subrahmanya). The ardhamandapa is of Form I.a with three spaced pilasters. The door is plain and there were no dvarapalas. The two pillars within are modern. Pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order with plain, angular corbels. The structure is featureless, apart from the handsome sikhara, and the detail coarse or blurred. It should however be included in the First Phase, if only because of the fine large image of Karttikeya preserved in the later mandapa.

Finally the *Agnisvara Temple* at TIRUKKATTUPPALLI may be mentioned.[1] It bears no inscriptional evidence but may confidently be attributed to the First Phase. Both vimana and ardhamandapa are on a base of Form B.4.a. The first tala is of Form B.1. The south devakoshtha is occupied by a late Dakshinamurti, the west by a late Ardhanari, while the north is empty. The square griva and sikhara are heavily stuccoed, but Balasubrahmanyam illustrates a First Phase Dakshinamurti in the south devakoshtha of the griva. The ardhamandapa is of Form I.a with two spaced pilasters. The dvarapalas are fine but of the eleventh century A.D. All pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order with plain angular corbels.

Before we move north towards Tondaimandalam to see if in any sense the First Phase is there represented or its origin clarified, I would like to recapitulate briefly. A small group of First Phase temples may be dated with some confidence in or about the last two decades of the ninth century A.D. The main prop for any chronology must be Tiruchchendurai, which is not later than year 2 of Parantaka I. This supports other fully developed and related fabrics on which are engraved Rajakesari inscriptions with high regnal years. The reader may think I am arbitrarily concentrating all architectural activity after about A.D. 885. But the fabrics do not indicate any clear progression of style: all, with the exception of Sendalai (in or just before A.D. 878) seem mature examples of the First Phase, the earliest of which with a firm date is Tillaisthanam (in or just before A.D. 884). Also, one is inevitably impressed by Rajakesari inscriptions with high regnal years. In the Early Cola Period, even ignoring Rajaraja I there are two Rajakesaris other than Aditya I: Gandaraditya, who ruled for about eight years, and Parantaka II, who ruled for about seventeen. The correct attribution of an inscription is itself a problem. Even greater, indeed insuperable, is the problem whether a correctly attributed inscription was engraved in the year it records or re-engraved a decade or several decades later. We shall see several explicit examples of this dilemma.

On our way north we may glance briefly at three temples, attributed to the reign of Aditya I by Balasubrahmanyam. The *Kailasanatha Temple* at the already mentioned village of ALAMBAKKAM[2] has two inscriptions of years 3 and 5 (720 and 715 of 1909) of a Parakesari, perhaps Parantaka I. Both vimana and ardhamandapa are on a base of Form A.1. The first tala is of Form B.1. The south devakoshtha is empty, the west contains a Vishnu and the north a Brahma. The two latter images are in good condition and First Phase. The tympana, though blurred, are elaborate. The ardhamandapa is of Form I.a. The dvarapalas, two-armed, belong to the eleventh century A.D. Pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order with plain angular

[1] Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, pp. 140–2 and Plate 73.

[2] Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, p. 106 and Plate 49.

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corbels. A temple of marginal interest, it certainly belongs to the First Phase, probably replacing an earlier fabric of the period of the Pallava Dantivarman.

The *Valikandesvara Temple* at VALIKANDAPURAM lies about forty miles north of Tiruchirappalli on the main road to Madras.[1] The earliest incontrovertible inscriptions are of years 4 to 40 of Parantaka I. Three of year 4 of a Rajakesari (238, 243 and 246 of 1943–4) have been attributed by Balasubrahmanyam to Aditya I. Both vimana and ardhamandapa are on a fine base of Form C.3. The first tala is of Form B.3. The images in the devakoshthas are late, but the original Dakshinamurti (broken) and Brahma survive in the temple. The ardhamandapa is of Form I.a with two spaced pilasters. The dvarapalas, two-armed, are original. Pillars and pilasters are of full Early Cola order with plain angular corbels. There are also a good early Jyestha and a fine Candesvara. Valikandapuram adds little to our knowledge but is certainly First Phase.

The *Agastyesvara Temple* at KILIYANUR[2] lies about fifteen miles from Pondicherry (South Arcot District). There was an ancient Vishnu temple here built in year 3 of the Pallava Nandivarman III (about A.D. 838): the present fabric has no old features. The earliest inscription (148 of 1919) on the Agastyesvara Temple is of year 10 of a Parakesari, who may be Parantaka I. The temple is unusually small. Both vimana and ardha-mandapa are on a good base of Form C.4. The first tala is of Form B.3. The devakoshthas are occupied by Dakshinamurti (south), not original and too large; Karttikeya (east) and Brahma (north). The tympana are merely blocked out. The second tala, griva and sikhara are probably of stone. The two latter are now designed in stucco as octagonal: they may actually be so. The ardhamandapa is really of Form I.a, but figures of Bhikshatana (south) and Durga, two-armed and without the bull (north), have been inserted directly into the walls. We are now on the border of Tondaimandalam and the dvarapalas are four-armed. Pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order with plain angular corbels. In the two surviving sub-shrines Candesvara is original and Bhairava late. The small figures in the devakoshthas and all detail except the base are poor, but the temple is no doubt still within the First Phase.

TAKKOLAM, the site of the famous battle between Rajaditya and Krishna III in about A.D. 949, lies about six miles north of Kanchipuram in the heart of Tondaimandalam. The *Temple of Jalanathesvara* (the Lord of Water), called Tiruvural in the ancient inscriptions on account of a natural spring, is one of the major monu-ments of this region.[3] Its walls are engraved with many inscriptions of Parantaka I from year 7 to year 35. One very important inscription of year 24 of a Rajakesari (5 of 1897) clearly belongs to Aditya I. It records a gift by the Ganga Prithivipati II who continued to serve the young Cola empire faithfully under Parantaka I. Another inscription of year 2(1) of a Rajakesari (260 of 1921) records a gift to the stone temple at Tiruvural (Tiruvural Karrali Mahadeva). This too may confidently be attributed to Aditya I. It seems that we have here in Tondaimandalam a temple almost exactly contemporary with the group in Colamandalam attributed to about the last decade of the ninth century A.D. A comparison is illuminating.

Both vimana and ardhamandapa are on a base of Form B.4, in which the kumuda is vertically fluted and the vyalas are spaced according to structural logic immediately below the wall pillars and pilasters (Plate 7).

[1] Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, pp. 128–30. [2] Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, pp. 196–7 and Plates 87–8.
[3] Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, pp. 210–15 and Plates 91–6.

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This Form is not used in Colamandalam. Instead, Form B.4.a is employed (Srinivasanallur), in which the kumuda is smoothly rounded and the vyalas form a continuous frieze. The first tala is of Form A.1, except that there are no true devakoshthas: the images are merely set into the wall between the two closely flanking central pilasters. The 'devakoshthas' do not pierce the wall-kantha. The south 'devakoshtha' is occupied by Dakshinamurti (Plate 6), the west by Vishnu, and the north by Brahma, under whom is a superb pranala in the form of a *gana* (Plate 7). Above the final vyala-mala the griva and sikhara are of brick. The ardhamandapa is of Form I.b but of the same width as the vimana. The only attempt to show a division between the two parts of the temple is made by a short break in the continuity of the wall-kantha. Again the images are set direct in the wall between the two central pilasters which rest on a sill designed like a short length of a wall-kantha. Ganesa occupies the south 'devakoshtha' and Durga the north (Plate 8). The powerful four-armed dvarapalas (Plate 9) are set in the end-wall between engaged pillars, the inner pair of which frame the door. The base and main images are among the finest things in Tondaimandalam. The rest of the detail is however surprisingly coarse. The pillars and pilasters are fully articulated but without the precise cutting and immaculate profile found on the Colamandalam monuments (Plate 2). The attempt to represent the petals on the undercurve of the padma is particularly jejune. The corbels, though angular, are clumsily cut with an even roll and median band.

It is evident that Takkolam is less developed, as a temple, than the First Phase monuments of the reign of Aditya I. There is no real attempt to distinguish the two parts of the structure. There are no true devakoshthas and the treatment of pillar and corbel remains uncertain. It is difficult to see how such a fabric could have made any contribution to the development of the First Phase style. Of course, the sculptures are magnificent, but their inner strength and tension are quite foreign to the gentler Cola vision. They are, whoever was the actual patron who founded the temple, in every sense Pallava. An iconographical point of importance is that the dvarapalas are four-armed; a Pallava convention, which does not appear in the Early Cola Period in Colamandalam until the Third Phase and even then exceptionally.

There is one other monument in Tondaimandalam which may be thought to have a bearing on the origin of the First Phase style: the *Virattanesvara Temple* at TIRUTTANI (Chittoor District).[1] It was built of black granite by one Nambi Appi in or just before year 18 of the Pallava Aparajita (about A.D. 903).[2] It survives more or less immaculate and, ignoring the apsidal sikhara, I will describe it as if it were an Early Cola temple. Both vimana and ardhamandapa are on a base of Form A.1. The first tala is of Form A.1 with full devakoshthas, that is two split pilasters supporting a lintel and closely flanked by two complete pilasters. The tympana are small but complete with the facing makaras. The south devakoshtha is occupied by Dakshinamurti, the west by Vishnu and the north by Brahma. The ardhamandapa is of Form I.b except the centre of the wall is occupied by a devakoshtha without flanking full pilasters and with a 'tympanum' of two confronting birds with scrolled tails. There is no pilaster at the end of the wall where it meets the vimana. The south devakoshtha is occupied by Ganesa, the north by Durga. The dvarapalas are four-armed and one wears the great crescent

[1] Douglas Barrett, *The Temple of Virattanesvara at Tiruttani*, Bombay, 1958.
[2] Or about A.D. 913, if one accepts Professor T. V. Mahlingam's chronology for the later members of the Pallava dynasty.

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horns. Pillars and pilasters are fully but timidly articulated. The corbels retain their Pallava form, that is rounded in profile and with even rolls and median band meeting the uttira directly.

The Pallava temple of Tiruttani is, so to speak, more or less a First Phase structure of the simplest design of base and elevation. Of the temples I have described only Kannanur, First Phase in a general sense, is comparable. Tiruttani could not be the precursor of the great shrines of about A.D. 880 to A.D. 910: Lalgudi, Tiruchchendurai, Kilaiyur, Tiruvedikudi and Tiruppalanam. It is hardly necessary to stress the 'late' date of Tiruttani. The reader may think I am labouring this point but, as I have said in my Introduction, some scholars see a 'Pallava style' in both Tondaimandalam and Colamandalam up to A.D. 900, followed by a 'Pallava/Cola transition' from A.D. 900 to A.D. 950. Far from being the source of inspiration of the First Phase the Pallava was, in his monuments of the late ninth century A.D., less advanced than the Early Cola. I say monuments, but Tiruttani is the sole survivor, unless relying on the close relationship of the sculptural style, we add Takkolam. The fact is that the emergence of the Tondaimandalam style of the late ninth century A.D. is as much a mystery as that of Colamandalam. If there was in Tondaimandalam, the monuments now lost, some sort of architectural development parallel to that in Colamandalam, it was in the last fifty years of the Pallava dynasty tentative and faltering, whereas the Early Cola was alive with all the creative vigour of a new dynasty. Tondaimandalam waited for her revival until the Third Phase, and then under Cola patronage.

A few other sites supply some evidence for the Tondaimandalam style during this period. There is a rich series of sculptures, in the Government Museum at Madras, from KAVERIPAKKAM (North Arcot District). The site has been wrecked and there are no early fabrics but the sculptures are closely related to those of Tiruttani. In the village of TIRUPPARKKADAL[1] two miles from Kaveripakkam, is a small temple, probably as early as year 12 of Parantaka I. Both vimana and ardhamandapa are on a base of Form A.1, and of the devakoshtha images Vishnu and Brahma survive, again stylistically related to Tiruttani. I have already mentioned the base (Form A.1) of the Vishnu temple at NEMMALI (Chittoor District), on which is engraved an inscription of year 10 of the Pallava Aparajita.

On the ruined *Vishnu Temple* at UKKAL[2] (North Arcot District) a Rajakesari inscription of year 23, certainly to be attributed to Aditya I, refers to the name of the village as Aparajitacaturvedimangalam, and the temple probably dates from the reign of Aparajita, or a little earlier if it was named Bhuvanimanikka Vishnugriham after a queen of Nripatunga. Unfortunately nothing remains but the base (Form A.1) of the vimana. The base is, however, articulated as if it were designed to support a first tala of some form of Group D.

The apsidal structure, called the Tiru/Abharana Kottadi (strong/room) of the *Bhaktavatsala Temple* at the foot of the hill at TIRUKKALUKKUNRAM[3] (Chingleput District), has an inscription of year 27 of a Rajakesari, certainly Aditya I, recording the second renewal of an ancient grant. In plain rectangular niches but in their canonical positions are placed images of Dakshinamurti, Vishnu, Brahma, Ganesa and Durga. All five are related stylistically to Tiruttani and Takkolam. Both Balasubrahmanyam and K. R. Srinivasan seem to accept the fabric also as of late ninth century A.D. I do not see how this can be so. Long ago V. V. Venkayya noted:

[1] Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, pp. 199–201 and Plate 89.
[2] Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, pp. 206–10.
[3] Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, pp. 220–8 and Plates 102–3.

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'That part of the wall where the oldest of the inscriptions are inscribed is disfigured by a number of masons' marks. These marks consist in most cases of Tamil numerals, engraved probably before attempting to pull down the wall with a view to repairing the temple. The numerals would indicate the order in which the stones had to be arranged while rebuilding the wall.' Balasubrahmanyam suggests this 'repair' took place at the time of the construction of the Bhaktavatsala Temple in the thirteenth century A.D. Certainly the engraved stones were carefully replaced so as not to disturb the reading of the inscriptions, but the rest of the fabric, far from being late ninth century A.D., does not even belong to our general period. The base is clearly late, perhaps thirteenth century A.D., while the use of ribbon pilasters as the sole decoration of the walls is not found, as far as I am aware, on any monument of the ninth or tenth centuries A.D. in Tondaimandalam.

I have left to the last a monument which may suggest I have belittled the architectural achievement of Tondaimandalam during this period. On the *Candramaulisvara Temple* at BRAHMADESAM (North Arcot District) Parantaka I's inscriptions range from year 5 to year 40.[1] There are four inscriptions, giving no name of a ruler, but dated Saka Era 830, that is A.D. 908. There are also two inscriptions of a Rajakesari of years 20 and 27 (237 and 230 of 1915), which may be attributed to Aditya I. The latter is virtually certain. (I will ignore the inscription of the Pallava Kampavarman (year 20), his dates being controversial.)

The temple consists of a vimana and an ardhamandapa, both on a base of Form A.1. The vimana is of three talas, all of stone, crowned by a brick griva and sikhara. The length and height of the façades of the first tala are consequently greater than on any temple of the First Phase. The first tala is essentially of Form A.2 with a full devakoshtha with tympanum in the centre and an additional pilaster with lateral corbels spatially related to the corner engaged pillars. In spite of the length of the façades, one feels that the Early Cola architect, aiming at simplicity, would have left the intervening wall-spaces clean. The architect of Tondaimandalam, in whose great monuments of the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. all wall-spaces are designed to provide interest, has inserted on either side of the full devakoshtha a pair of pilasters so closely set that the *palagais* touch. The niches within the split pilasters are very long and narrow, and a sill is introduced at the bottom in the form of a short length of wall-kantha, a feature already noticed on the ardhamandapa at Takkolam. The devakosththas are now empty.[2] The images in the second and third talas remain but are difficult to read except for a fine Narasimha wrestling with his adversary in the second tala at the west end. The ardhamandapa, whose roof is partially missing, is of Form I.b, but the devakoshthas are empty. There are niches for dvarapalas, also missing. The tall, narrow pillars and pilasters, straight-sided up to the malasthana, are fully but timidly articulated. The palagais are small, not at all the strong horizontal accent they make in Colamandalam. The corbels on the other hand are of the Early Cola type, throated and with plain median band.

This austerely beautiful temple, whether constructed under Late Pallava or Early Cola patronage, is in most respects a Pallava monument. I would only point to the corbels to suggest any First Phase influence. Nor is there any indication of influence flowing the other way. I think a date of A.D. 890 to A.D. 910 would be acceptable to most scholars. One thing seems certain: Brahmadesam is an isolated monument contributing, on present evidence, nothing to the development of tenth century A.D. architecture in Tondaimandalam.

[1] Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, pp. 201–5 and Plate 90.

[2] They retained their images in 1915.

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5

THE FIRST OR ADITYA I PHASE

The Reign of Parantaka I (A.D. 907–c.940)

We may now proceed to that part of the First Phase which is covered by the first thirty or so years of the reign of Parantaka I. The mature style of the last decade of the ninth century A.D. continues with little perceptible change either in architecture or sculpture until the last few years of the Phase. Tiruchchendurai is of course already within the new reign. We now find other temples dated, or, more precisely, with a convincing *terminus ante quem*. Again I will begin with two masterpieces.

The *Nagesvara Temple* at KUMBAKONAM[1] (Tanjavur District), cleaned and relieved of its disfiguring stucco on the tower, would be one of the finest things in India. The earliest incontrovertible inscriptions on the temple are of years 27, 38 and 40 of Parantaka I. Mahalingam attributes Parakesari inscriptions of years 3, 4, 7 and 28 to Parantaka I. Balasubrahmanyam believes that one inscription (252 of 1911) of year 15 of Rajakesari may be attributed to Aditya I, but Mahalingam gives it to Parantaka II. The 'earliest' inscription in the temple-compound, on the shrine of the Goddess, is of year 8 of the Pandya Maranjadaiyan, who is almost certainly Varaguna II, who succeeded in 862 A.D.

Both vimana and ardhamandapa are on a base of Form A.2 with a fairly heavy cyma recta moulding with lotus petals between the jagati and upana. The rectangular blocks of both kantha and wall-kantha are carved with miniature reliefs illustrating scenes from the Puranas (kantha) and the Ramayana (wall-kantha). The vimana is of two talas with a square griva and sikhara. The two latter are now covered with painted stucco. Mahalingam mentions the 'interesting' feature of a frontal projection on the east side of the tower. This excrescence, which formed no part of the original design, should be removed. The first tala is of Form D.3. The south devakostha is occupied by a late Dakshinamurti, the west by Ardhanari[2] and the north by Brahma (Plate 12). The tympana are of the most elaborate form with the scrolled tails of the makaras supported on the palagais of the split-pilasters. In the recessed wall-sections are figures set in devakoshthas with small tympanum. Reading clockwise round the vimana they are two female figures (south wall), two male figures (west wall) and again two male figures (north wall).[3] The ardhamandapa is of the unique form I.c. The south devakoshtha,

[1] Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, pp. 133–6 and Plates 69–71; T. V. Mahalingam, 'The Nagesvaraswami Temple', *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XLV, Part I, April 1967.

[2] T. V. Mahalingam, op. cit, Fig. 4. [3] T. V. Mahalingam, op. cit, Figs. 11–16.

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where one would expect a Ganesa, is occupied by a male figure,[1] and the north by Durga. Flanking the south devakoshtha is a female figure (Plate 11) and a male.[2] Flanking the north devakoshtha is a female figure[3] and a Bhikshatana[4] (Plate 10). The door is flanked by two-armed dvarapalas, doubted, for some reason, by Mahalingam. The roof is supported within by two rows of two pillars each. All pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order with roll corbels, throated and with decorated median band. On the vimana rearing *yalis* occupy the palagais of the engaged pillars of the devakoshthas, and female dancers and musicians those of the engaged pillars of the projecting wings. In the mandapa before the temple is an interesting example of early 'collecting', probably by the Cola Rajendra I, a fine standing Ganesa in black chlorite.[5] It is not however a Pala image, as suggested by S. K. Govindaswami and Mahalingam, but Orissan.

The architecture of the Nagesvara Temple is classical for style and quality. The detail is beautiful. The fine series of main sculptures is not surpassed by anything in the First Phase and the Bhikshatana is incomparable. Granted the interpretation I have proposed in the last chapter, I naturally follow Mahalingam and date the temple early in the reign of Parantaka I about A.D. 910.

Before I leave the Nagesvara Temple, I would like to say something about the parivaradevatas. There are several miniature shrines in the compound, but none is as early as the temple. One, however, in the north-east corner, dedicated to Surya, is of interest, and here I must anticipate my argument. The base of both vimana and ardhamandapa is probably of Form A.2. (The level of the compound conceals most of it.) The rectangular blocks of the wall-kantha are carved with miniature reliefs, one of which shows a Nataraja in *ananda-tandava* on a dwarf, a feature of some interest to students of Early Cola bronzes. The first tala is of Form B.1. All three devakoshthas contain figures of Surya. The griva and sikhara are round. The ardhamandapa is of Form II.b. The south devakoshtha contains a Ganesa, the north a male figure holding a lotus and with the other hand on the hip. The door is flanked by two-armed dvarapalas. Pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order with roll corbels, throated and with median band. The pillars on the vimana have the torus of the padma carved with munai. An inscription on the Nagesvara Temple of year 40 of Parantaka I (253 of 1910) registers a gift for two lamps in the shrine of Surya. In my opinion the surviving shrine could easily have been constructed in or before A.D. 947. A Surya image of late First Phase date exists in another small shrine in the compound. This unpublished piece is, I believe, the original image of the Surya shrine. But the latter houses now another large image of Surya (Plate 13). Here we have something on a good scale which, compared with any of the sculptures attributed to the reign of Aditya I, is seen to be truly archaic, a rare survival of the style of the centre of Colamandalam just before the rise of the Early Cola. I believe this image to be one of the parivaradevatas which surrounded the original brick temple, which was probably quite as early as Varaguna II's inscription of A.D. 870.

The second great temple to be described is, architecturally, the most important of all the First Phase monuments, as complex as Tiruppalanam and in much better condition. The evidence of inscriptions for the

[1] Stella Kramisch, *The Art of India*, London, 1954, Plate 112.
[2] T. V. Mahalingam, op. cit, Fig. 8.
[3] T. V. Mahalingam, op. cit, Fig. 17.
[4] T. V. Mahalingam, op. cit, Fig. 7.
[5] T. V. Mahalingam, op. cit, pp. 61–2 and Fig. 20.

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date of the *Brahmapurisvara Temple* at PULLAMANGAI[1] (Tanjavur District) is small but, taken with the style, fairly conclusive. The earliest incontrovertible inscriptions are of years 11 and 18 (a royal gift) of Parantaka I (558 and 555 of 1921). An inscription of year 6 (559 of 1921) of a Parakesari, registering a gift by the Ganga feudatory Prithivipati II, must also belong to Parantaka I, and two others of years 3 (549 of 1921) and 7 (551 of 1921) may belong. We may date Pullamangai about A.D. 910 to A.D. 920.

Both vimana and ardhamandapa are on a base of Form B.6, found only here and on the ruined Sadaiyar Temple at Tiruchchennampundi. The rectangular blocks of the wall-kantha are carved with miniature reliefs. The vimana is of three talas (the first example in the First Phase) with a square griva and sikhara. No doubt the fabric is stone but is largely concealed by peeling stucco. The first tala is of Form D.2, which here makes its first appearance. The south devakoshtha is obscured but contained a Dakshinamurti: the supporting figures, virtually the same as those at Srinivasanallur, are visible. The west devakoshtha is occupied by Lingodbhava, again a first appearance. Siva is flanked, outside the split-pilasters, by Vishnu and Brahma. On the linga Brahma is represented as a flying figure. The north devakoshtha is occupied by Brahma, flanked by kneeling male adorers. The tympana are of the most elaborate form. In the recesses the arched window of the panjaras forms a large kudu within the kapota, while their base mouldings pierce the base of the vimana down to the upana. The ardhamandapa is of the unique Form III.a. The south devakoshtha is occupied by Ganesa, flanked by his ganas, and the north by Durga flanked by her lion, a deer and two male devotees engaged in self-immolation. As I have earlier said (p. 41), on the end-wall a panjara is placed between the engaged pillar and the door. Against the two panjaras the two-armed dvarapalas are set in rough brickwork. It is difficult to see how they were originally placed, though admittedly the height of the floor against the end-wall has risen to the height of the wall-kantha. The dvarapalas are certainly original and among the most graciously beautiful of their kind. There is of course no articulation of the inner walls of the ardhamandapa but the short walls flanking the door to the shrine are decorated with a panjara without its superstructure. The roof is supported by two rows of two pillars: along the top of the walls and along the beams runs a frieze of ganas. The unique crowning of the side-walls of the ardhamandapa has already (p. 41) been described. Pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order with roll corbels, throated and with decorated median band. Rearing vyalas with riders or female musicians and dancers adorn the palagais at all corners of the temple.

As architecture Pullamangai is the culmination of the First Phase. The elaborate articulation and the rich but never muddled wall-texture make it the most satisfying of all the monuments to contemplate. The detail is crisp and sensitive, and with the miniature carvings on kantha and pillars, comes very close to the Nagesvara Temple. Of the major sculpture the Durga, Brahma, Ganesa and dvarapalas are outstanding.

Closely related to Pullamangai is the ruined *Sadaiyar Temple* at TIRUCHCHENNAMPUNDI[2] on the south bank of the River Kollidam near Koviladi. Incontrovertible inscriptions of Parantaka I range from year 14 to year 37. An earlier inscription of year 22 of the Pallava Nripatunga (about A.D. 881) has already

[1] James C. Harle, *The Brahmapurisvara Temple at Pullamangai*, Bombay, 1958, gives a good description, admirably illustrated.
[2] Balasubrahmanyam, 1971, pp. 56–8 and Plate 52.

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been mentioned, but I do not think this will affect our opinion of the date of the temple, about A.D. 920.

Both vimana and ardhamandapa are on a base of Form B.6, which is found elsewhere only at Pullamangai. The rectangular blocks of the wall-kantha are, however, uncarved. The first tala is of Form D.3. The south devakoshtha contains a standing Vinadhara Dakshinamurti and the north, Brahma. The west wall is ruined but almost certainly contained the lovely Ardhanari now in the Government Museum, Madras,[1] to which the other two images are similar in style and quality. The two surviving tympana are of the most elaborate form. In the field of the tympanum above the Vinadhara Dakshinamurti is the figure of an orthodox Dakshinamurti. Above this within the circular boss between the addorsed makara heads is the small figure of a Nataraja in ananda-tandava on a crouching dwarf facing left. The Nataraja seems to turn to his right but this is probably to accommodate the raised left leg within the low relief of the carving. There is no figure of Ganga in the god's hair. This is, I believe, the earliest representation of a Nataraja in ananda-tandava.[2] In the recessed wall-sections the niches, framed within split-pilasters and lintel, are all empty. The vimana was of two talas, but the second tala is ruined and the griva and sikhara missing. The ardhamandapa is of Form I.b, but the images in the two devakoshthas and the dvarapalas are missing. The roof is supported by two rows of two pillars each, one pillar being missing. Pillars and pilasters are of full Early Cola order with roll corbels, throated and with median band. On the engaged pillars of the four wings of the first tala the torus of the padma is carved with munai, a feature already noticed as tentatively employed at Tiruppalanam. On one group of two engaged pillars one side of the square torus is carved with munai, while the adjacent side is left uncut. An interesting and perhaps unique feature is that under the roof-kapota, instead of the usual frieze of gambolling dwarfs, is a series of modillions formed of lion protomes.

In the already mentioned village of KILAPPALUVUR, near Kilaiyur, the west and south walls of the vimana of the *Tiru-Alandurai-Mahadeva Temple* are engraved with inscriptions ranging from year 10 to year 37 of Parantaka I. Later I shall argue that the present fabric of the temple dates from in or about A.D. 984 in the Third Phase. One sculpture, however, a gracious dvarapala (Plate 14), indicates that there was a First Phase temple on the site, which may be dated in or about year 10 of Parantaka I (A.D. 917).

The three temples at Kumbakonam, Pullamangai and Tiruchchennampundi may be considered the outstanding monuments to have survived from the first ten years or so of the reign of Parantaka I. There are a few others less important which claim a similar date.

There is a cluster of four temples in the villages of Andanallur, Nangavaram and Allur on the south bank of the River Kaveri west of Tiruchirappalli.

On the *Vatatirthanatha Temple* at ANDANALLUR[3] is an inscription of year 11 of a Parakesari (359 of 1903) which mentions the Irukkuvel chieftain Sembiyan also known as Pudi Parantakan, who claims to have built

[1] Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, Plate 2b.
[2] Previously I had thought the earliest representation to be at the Gomuktesvara Temple at Tiruvaduturai, which I date A.D. 945.
[3] Balasubrahmanyam, 1971, pp. 15–17. His Plate 6 shows a Late Cola Bhairava.

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the temple. The same claim is made in an inscription of year 14 of a Parakesari (358 of 1903). Balasubrahmanyam has cogently argued that the Parakesari in question is Parantaka I and the temple was therefore built in or just before A.D. 918.

It is a pity that the surviving fabric, securely dated as it is, adds so little to what we already know. Though concealed below the kantha the base seems to be of Form A.1. The first tala is of Form D.1. There are no images in the devakoshthas except a late Dakshinamurti. The second tala, round griva and sikhara are probably of stone but covered with painted stucco. The ardhamandapa is of Form I.a. The two-armed dvarapalas are excellent. All pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order with roll corbels, throated and with plain median band.

The *Sundaresvara Temple* at NANGAVARAM[1] is of more interest as a monument. An inscription of year 10 of a Parakesari (337 of 1903) refers to a munificent gift by a lady Solapperundeviyar, otherwise known as Perunangai, who was a consort of the Sembiyan Irukkuvel mentioned at Andanallur. This Parakesari was evidently Parantaka I. Two other inscriptions of year 4 (330 and 331 of 1903) of a Parakesari may also be fairly attributed to him. The fabric will support a date of about A.D. 910 to A.D. 920.

Though the base of both vimana and ardhamandapa is covered, it is almost certainly of Form A.1. The first tala is of Form B.3. The south devakoshtha contains a late Dakshinamurti but the original Vinadhara Dakshinamurti is in the sub-shrine of the Saptamatrikas. The north devakoshtha is empty but the Vishnu in the west is original and fine. The toranas are elaborate and good. The second tala, round griva and sikhara are of stone, admirably proportioned and excellent in detail if cleaned. On the south side there is a Dakshinamurti in the second tala and a beautiful seated Vinadhara Dakshinamurti in the griva. The ardhamandapa is again of Form I.a. The two-armed dvarapalas are superb. The doors to ardhamandapa and vimana are flanked by split-pilasters. All pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order with roll corbels, throated and with median band. There are two Early Cola lion pillars standing outside the temple. Four of the original stone sub-shrines survive: two have a round griva and sikhara,[2] one containing the original Saptamatrikas is in the form of a sala while the fourth, containing the original Ganesa, has an interesting apsidal roof (panjara). The sub-shrine of Karttikeya is late and contains a late image.

There are two temples in the village of ALLUR. The *Panchanadisvara Temple*[3] lies just south of the main road from Tiruchirappalli to Karur. On the base of the ardhamandapa is an inscription (371A of 1903) of year 6 of Parantaka I recording a gift of land. Balasubrahmanyam suggests that the temple was 'remodelled' in the reign of Rajaraja I. The fabric however, is of the First Phase throughout and may confidently be attributed to about A.D. 910 or a little later.

The first tala is of Form B.3. The flanking walls of the vimana are on a base of the rare Form B.3.a, while the bases of the projecting frontispieces and of the ardhamandapa are of the cognate Form C.3: a successful

[1] Balasubrahmanyam, 1971, pp. 41–3 and Plates 19–27. Plate 27 illustrates a Late Cola bronze Parvati (Bhogesvari).
[2] One contains a late Durga. [3] Balasubrahmanyam, 1971, pp. 11–12.

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attempt to give emphasis to the frontispiece which carries the devakoshtha. The devakoshthas are empty except for that on the south frontispiece which contains an original and good Dakshinamurti. The second tala and round griva are of stone, the sikhara of brick. All is covered with whitewashed stucco. The ardhamandapa is of Form I.a. The two-armed dvarapalas are magnificent. All pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order with plain angular corbels. In front of the ardhamandapa and separated from it by some twelve feet is an interesting mandapa which seems to belong to the First Phase. It stands on a base of Form C.3. The long south wall carries three full devakoshthas (now empty) and the long north wall two full devakoshthas and a central window. The west devakoshtha of the latter contains a standing Siva. Flanking the door at the west end are original two-armed dvarapalas of the type which hold a lotus in the uplifted right hand.

Within the village of Allur is a second temple, the *Pasupatisvara*.[1] The earliest incontrovertible inscriptions range from year 17 to year 41 of Parantaka I (381, 382, 375, 384 and 373 of 1903). The fabric will support a date of about A.D. 920.

Both vimana and ardhamandapa are on a base of Form A.1. The first tala is of Form B.3. The devakoshthas are empty and the tympana blurred or unfinished. The round griva and sikhara seem to be of stone but are now covered with stucco. The ardhamandapa, which is supported within by two rows of two pillars (late) each, is of Form I.a. The two-armed dvarapalas are original. All pillars and pilasters are of the Early Cola order with plain angular corbels.

The *Adimulesvara Temple* at TIRUPPALTURAI,[2] not to be confused with the destroyed Darukavanesvara at Tirupparaitturai, lies on the south bank of the River Kollidam near Koviladi. The earliest inscription (180 of 1907), on the mandapa in front of the main shrine, is of year 22 of the Pallava Nandivarman III. No inscription can be attributed to Aditya I, but an inscription of year 8 of a Parakesari who is probably Uttama Cola (174 of 1907) mentions the re-engraving on the wall of the temple of two old inscriptions of years 18 and 20 of Parantaka I. This has suggested to Balasubrahmanyam a 'renovation' of the temple. Unfortunately the walls of the present fabric are solidly whitewashed and the images and tower freshly stuccoed and painted. Both vimana and ardhamandapa are on a base of Form A.2, the wall-kantha carved with miniatures. The first tala is of Form A.1. The devakoshthas contain a late Dakshinamurti (south), a Harihara[3] (west) and a Brahma (north). The tympana are good but obscured. The round griva and sikhara seem to be of stone. The four figures of Nandi on the griva-platform are clean and good. The ardhamandapa is of Form I.b. The south devakoshtha contains a Vinadhara and the north a Durga. Both are probably original. Flanking the Vinadhara to the east is a plain rectangular niche containing a Bhikshatana, which seems to belong to the Third Phase. Flanking the Vinadhara to the west is a small standing Ganesa, a late insertion. The two-armed dvarapalas are excellent. The ardhamandapa is supported within by two rows of two pillars each. All pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order with plain angular corbels. Though the images and fabric are obscured, I

[1] Balasubrahmanyam, 1971, pp. 12–15 and Plates 1–2. The Candesvara on Plate 2 is a late image. [2] Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, pp. 126–8.
[3] Harihara is a rare deity in the Early Cola Period. This image seems to be the earliest appearance in a devakoshtha.

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believe they date from about year 18 of Parantaka I (A.D. 925), the Bhikshatana being the only evidence for a later 'renovation'.

One interesting temple of this period survives in KODUMBALUR, the main capital of the Irukkuvel chieftains, now in Tiruchirappalli District but previously in the old Pudukkottai State. On the base of the *Mucukundesvara Temple*[1] are four inscriptions of year 14 of a Parakesari which state that the stone temple (karrali) of Tirumudukunram Udaiyar, the ancient name of the Mucukundesvara, was built by Mahimalaya Irukkuvel. The latter chieftain was a contemporary of Parantaka I and Gandaraditya. The temple may be dated about A.D. 921.

Both vimana and ardhamandapa are on a base of Form A.1. The first tala is of Form B.3. All three devakoshthas are empty, the tympana merely blocked out. The second tala and square griva and sikhara are of stone and make up a well-proportioned tower. The small images of the second tala are Vinadhara Dakshinamurti (south), Vishnu (west) and Brahma (north), and of the griva Dakshinamurti (south), Vishnu (west) and Brahma (north). The ardhamandapa is of Form I.a. There are no dvarapalas and no pillars within the ardhamandapa. All pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order with roll corbels, throated and with median band. There are four sub-shrines: one is empty and the others contain a Karttikeya, a Candesvara and a late Bhairava.

Perhaps the latest major First Phase monument to have survived in Colamandalam is the *Koranganatha Temple* at SRINIVASANALLUR (Tiruchirappalli District). It is certainly one of the finest. Srinivasanallur lies about thirty miles west of Tiruchirappalli on the north bank of the River Kaveri, further west than any other Early Cola temple. Again the earliest incontrovertible inscriptions are dated in the middle and second half of the reign of Parantaka I; years 20 (593 of 1904), 29 (587 of 1904), 30 (590 of 1904) and 37 (589 of 1904). The inscription of year 20, which also quotes year 19, is engraved on the same stone of the base of the ardhamandapa as two other inscriptions, of which one, with damaged date, belongs to Parantaka I (591 of 1904) and the other to year 24 of a Rajakesari (592 of 1904). Both G. V. Srinivasa Rao (*South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. XIII, No. 306) and Balasubrahmanyam fairly attribute this last inscription to Aditya I. With its support Balasubrahmanyam infers that the temple was built in or before year 24 of Aditya I (A.D. 894) rather than in or before year 20 of Parantaka I (A.D. 927). The fact that the inscription of year 24 is engraved alongside and below two inscriptions of Parantaka I on the same stone—there is no shortage of clean wall-space—rather suggests that all three inscriptions were engraved at the same time, namely about year 20 of Parantaka I (A.D. 927). I am inclined to believe that the fabric of the temple supports this later date.

Both vimana and ardhamandapa are on a base of Form B.4.a with a superb vyala-mala; some of the vyalas have human faces. The first tala is of Form D.3. The south devakoshtha is occupied by a Dakshinamurti with supporting figures (Plate 15), the west is empty and the north contains a standing Brahma.[2] The south

[1] Balasubrahmanyam, 1971, pp. 26–8 and Plate 11.

[2] Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, Plate 47 (wrongly placed in the west devakoshtha but retaining feet and pedestal now missing).

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and west tympana are of the most elaborate form, the field of the south containing an eight-armed dancing Kali and of the west a Varaha. There is no tympanum over the north devakoshtha. In the recessed wall-sections are figures set in plain niches flanked by round engaged pillars which, uniquely in Form D.3, articulate the recessed wall-sections. These figures, among the finest of the First Phase, are, reading clockwise round the vimana, a Bhikshatana (Plate 16), a male figure with crossed arms, a female adorer,[1] a second female adorer, a male figure with hands pressed together in adoration and a male figure holding a flower (Plate 17). It may be mentioned that the lovely Bhikshatana alone of the figures does not stand on a double-lotus base and is fitted somewhat clumsily into the niche. There is no other instance on the vimana of a First Phase temple of a deity occupying one of the recessed wall-sections, but I doubt whether anyone would question that the Bhikshatana is of the same date as the other figures. The tower above the uttira of the first tala is of brick and does not concern us. The ardhamandapa is of Form II.b. The south devakoshtha is empty and the tympanum cut away. The north devakoshtha contains a late and half-finished seated Siva and there is no tympanum. There is good scrolling round the door and niches for the dvarapalas, now missing. The roof is supported within by two rows of two pillars each. All pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order with plain, angular corbels. A few pillars have the torus of the padma cut to simulate the pointed petals of the lotus (Plate 15). The plan of the ardhamandapa has a unique feature. Of Form II.b it is separated from the vimana by a wall-space recessed so deep as to strike the wall of the vimana between its two adjacent wings.[2] For once the inner walls of the ardhamandapa imitate the outer making a short (4 feet 4 inches) vestibule before the door of the vimana. This plan, so far as I know, is never repeated in the Early Cola period and is the only instance where one may fairly claim the existence of a vestibule or antarala, modest though its proportions are.

Situated away from the metropolitan centres of Colamandalam and close to the border of Kongudesa, Srinivasanallur is nevertheless an advanced fabric. The base Form B.4.a is not found, I believe, on any temple securely attributable to the reign of Aditya I, while the Form II.b of the ardhamandapa, the unique feature of an 'antarala' apart, is not used on any other First Phase temple, the simpler Form II.a without the two devakoshthas being found only at Lalgudi. Moreover the style of the main images, especially the Dakshinamurti seems to be more closely related to Pullamangai and the Nagesvara Temple at Kumbakonam than to the temples of Aditya I.

From about A.D. 927 onwards there is very little evidence from surviving fabrics for the First Phase in Colamandalam. Further north however in the region between the Rivers Vellar and Pennar known as Tirumunaippadi-nadu (War District) three important temples still survive in good condition.

The *Kadambavanesvara Temple* at ERUMBUR[3] (South Arcot District) is situated on the road from Chidambaram to Vriddhachalam. An inscription (384 of 1913), dated year 28 of Parantaka I, on the south wall of the vimana, states that the vimana was constructed of stone (karrali) and gopura and shrines for the Ashtaparivaradevatas built by Irungolan Kunavan Aparajitan. The donor had requested and received permission from

[1] Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, Plate 46.
[2] The plan in Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, will make this clear.
[3] Balasubrahmanyam, 1971, pp. 67–70 and Plates 71–6.

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Parantaka I himself to do this work. There are three inscriptions of Parantaka I prior to his year 28: of year 18 (379 of 1913), of year 20 (382 of 1913) and of year 26 (381 of 1913), all on the south base of the vimana. There are indeed on the vimana inscriptions, from year 5 to year 16, of a Parakesari who may be Parantaka I. It is fair to assume that the 'earlier' inscriptions were copied on to the new stone temple, which may be dated year 28 of Parantaka I (A.D. 935).

Both vimana and ardhamandapa are on a base of Form A.1 (Plate 18a). The first tala is of Form B.1, except that between the engaged pillars the images are set in plain rectangular niches. The niches are occupied by Dakshinamurti (south) (Plate 20a), Arunachalesvara or Siva as the Great Yogi (west) (Plates 19 and 20b) and Brahma (north) (Plate 21a). The three faces of the Brahma are re-cut. The round griva and sikhara are of brick. The ardhamandapa is of Form I.a. The dvarapalas are missing. All pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order with roll corbels, throated and with median band. The main interest of this simple but attractive temple lies in the three images of the vimana of fine quality and metropolitan style. It is a pity that the other parts of the temple no longer survive. The inscription of year 28 of Parantaka I makes it clear that in at least one temple of the First Phase there were not seven but eight subsidiary deities. Balasubrahmanyam believes the eighth subsidiary deity to be Bhairava and he quotes the Mucukundesvara Temple at Kodumbalur and the Agastyesvara Temple at Kiliyanur to support his theory. But in both these temples the Bhairava is a late image and carries no weight as evidence.

The *Tiruttondisvara Temple* at TIRUNAMANALLUR[1] (South Arcot District) also lies in the War District. An inscription of year 28 (334 of 1902) of Parantaka I states that Rajaditya, who was in command of the forces stationed in this region, or his mother, constructed the temple of stone. Several soldiers, mainly from Kerala, made gifts to the temple, which is thus contemporary with Erumbur (A.D. 935).

Both vimana and ardhamandapa are on a fine base of Form C.3 with sparsely set vyalas (Plate 18b). The first tala is of Form B.1. In the south devakoshtha is a beautiful but rare form of Siva standing against Nandi. His lower left hand holds a book, his upper a *trisula*. His lower right hand rests on Nandi, his upper holds a mala. The other two devakoshthas are empty. The tympana contain Ganesa (south), Vishnu with consorts (west) and seated Siva, Parvati and Ganesa (north). The square griva and sikhara are late. The ardhamandapa is of Form I.a. The two-armed dvarapalas are good but small. All pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order with roll corbels, throated and with median band. On both vimana and ardhamandapa female dancers occupy the palagais of the engaged pillars.

Near Tirunamanallur lies the village of GRAMAM[2] (South Arcot District) on the south bank of the River Malattar, also a famous 'frontier town'. Here in an inscription of year 36 (735 of 1905) of Parantaka I, Vellangumaran, the Kerala general of Rajaditya, claims to have built the *Sivalokanatha Temple* of stone. Again there are 'earlier' inscriptions on the temple ranging from year 23 to year 29. Vellangumaran himself made an

[1] Balasubrahmanyam, 1971, pp. 64–7 and Plates 66–70. Plate 70 is the well-known bronze figure of Bhikshatana, which does not, of course, belong to the Early Cola Period.

[2] Balasubrahmanyam, 1971, pp. 60–3 and Plates 56–65. Plate 63 illustrates a late Bhairava and Plate 65 a late Surya.

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endowment in year 29 (739 of 1905) for burning a perpetual lamp in the temple. We may assume that the earlier gifts were re-recorded on the temple which dates from A.D. 943.

Both vimana and ardhamandapa are on a base of Form A.1, the blocks of the kantha being carved with miniatures. The first tala is of Form B.3 except that between the engaged pillars the images are set in plain rectangular niches. The niches contain Dakshinamurti (south), Vishnu (west) (Plate 22a) and Brahma (north) (Plate 22b). The Dakshinamurti is late but the original figure is built into a nearby wall (Plate 21b). The second tala and round griva and sikhara are covered with painted stucco. The ardhamandapa is of Form I.b. The south devakoshtha contains Ganesa (Plate 23a) and the north Durga (Plate 23b). The tympana are unworked. The two-armed dvarapalas are small but fine. All pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order with plain angular corbels. A superb Candesvara survives of the subsidiary images.

Gramam is the latest temple so far discussed in the First Phase: in fact, according to the formal division I have made, it is already in the Second Phase. Architecturally it shows no advance on the temples of the reign of Aditya I or those of the earlier part of the reign of Parantaka I. Indeed it is very simple and, like Erumbur, does not employ true devakoshthas on the vimana. The five main images, however, tell a different story. The Vishnu, Brahma and Durga, in particular, seem to indicate a shifting of taste away from the slender, taut forms of the earlier monuments towards the fuller, heavier style of the Third Phase.

Only one temple, or rather fragment of a temple, survives to indicate the style of Tondaimandalam during the reign of Parantaka I: the *Kodandaramesvara* (or *Adityesvara*) *Temple* at TONDAIMANAD[1] (Chittoor District) which lies about six miles from Kalahasti in the modern State of Andhrapradesh. On the north side of the base of the vimana is a famous inscription (286 of 1906: *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. VII, No. 529) dated in year 34 of Parantaka I (A.D. 941). It records a rich endowment and details of the expenditure to be set against the income. Now Aditya I was also called Kondandarama: the temple thus commemorates both his names. He was, in an inscription at Tirumalpuram (230 of 1903), also referred to as 'He who died at Tondaiman Arrur' (Tondaiman Arrurtunjiya udaiyar). The Tondaimanad inscription makes it clear that the temple was a pallipadai, a memorial temple built over the mortal remains of the king. It was constructed in or before A.D. 941.

Unfortunately nothing now survives of this historical monument except the base of the vimana, which supports a superstructure of indeterminate date (Plate 24). The first tala belonged to Group B, that is, with a central projecting frontispiece. The base of the frontispiece is of Form B.3 with an admirable pranala in the form of a makara with gaping jaws (Plate 24). The vyalas in high relief and the vertically fluted kumuda are splendidly conceived. The base of the flanking walls to the frontispiece is of the simplest Form A.1. It is clear, if Tondaimanad may be regarded as typical, that in Tondaimandalam the tradition of the temple at Takkolam continued, so far as the design of the base was concerned, throughout the reign of Parantaka I.

Several of the temples attributed to the reign of Parantaka I by Balasubrahmanyam will be discussed later,

[1] Balasubrahmanyam, 1971, pp. 101–3 and Plate 92.

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but one, difficult to interpret, is best described here. The village of TIRUVAMATTUR[1] (South Arcot District) lies about four miles from Villupuram on the road to Gingee. Both vimana and ardhamandapa of the *Abhiramesvara Temple* are on a base of Form A.2, which is lifted on a tall vertical moulding which seems to indicate a fairly recent reconstruction of the temple. The first tala is of Form A.2, except that the images are set in a plain rectangular niche. (Balasubrahmanyam errs in saying there are 'projections' to the vimana.) The south niche is occupied by Dakshinamurti and the north by Brahma. In the west niche is a Lingodbhava, without supporters or flames on the linga, while Brahma is represented below the garland as a hamsa with ketaka flower in its beak. The griva and sikhara are fairly modern brick and stucco. The ardhamandapa is of Form I.b, except that the images again are accommodated in plain rectangular niches. The south niche is occupied by Bhikshatana and the north by Durga, who stands directly on her pedestal. (Balasubrahmanyam errs in saying there is an 'antarala' between the vimana and ardhamandapa.) There are niches for the missing dvarapalas. The roof was supported by two rows of two pillars, now missing. All pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order with roll corbels, throated and with median band.

There are on the temple a number of incontestable inscriptions of Parantaka I ranging from year 15 to year 41. In an inscription (426 of 1903), dated not in a regnal year but in Saka Samvat 879 which is equivalent to A.D. 957, Parabhumikan Mallan, also known as Gandaraditta Pallavaraiyan, an officer of Gandaraditya (A.D. 949–57), made a gift of gold to the temple. This same officer also made a gift in year 3 of a Parakesari (425 of 1903). Balasubrahmanyam attributes the latter inscription to Parantaka I and concludes that the temple was built in or before year 3 of Parantaka I. There would thus be an interval of forty-seven years between the two gifts. I suggest that the Parakesari is more likely to be Aditya II (A.D. 964–9) so that the interval would be ten years. On the west base of the vimana is an incomplete inscription (413 of 1903) of year 6 of a Parakesari which mentions the master craftsman (*sthapati*) who constructed the temple, Naranan Vedankan also known as Tiruvamattur Acharyan. Balasubrahmanyam attributes this inscription also to Parantaka I. As it now stands the actual fabric of the temple would support a date within the Early Cola Period. The Brahma and Durga are certainly good images of the Third Phase, while the Bhikshatana, which would not occupy such a position in the First or Second Phases, may—it is blurred—also belong. The Dakshinamurti and the Lingodbhava on the other hand are surely Late Cola. I would be prepared to accept that the present fabric and the Brahma and Durga belong to the Third Phase. Accordingly, I would be inclined to believe that the Parakesari of year 6 was Uttama Cola and that the temple dates from about A.D. 975.

[1] Balasubrahmanyam, 1971, pp. 78–80 and Plates 81–3. Plate 81 may mislead: it does not illustrate the central shrine.

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6

THE SECOND PHASE

(c. A.D. 940–970)

I have suggested that the images at Gramam (A.D. 943) indicate a movement away from the sculptural style of the great classical monuments of the First Phase. It may be objected that this temple lies far from the capital and merely demonstrates a local sub-style. I will return therefore to a temple close to the metropolitan centres in Tanjavur District and patronized by the king himself.

The *Gomuktesvara Temple* at TIRUVADUTURAI[1] is crucial for my argument, and, before discussing the problem of its date, I must convince that it is no longer, either in architecture or sculpture, a First Phase monument.

Both vimana and ardhamandapa are on a high and very elaborate base of Form B.2.a, in which minor cyma recta mouldings with lotus petals are introduced above and below the pattika, dividing the kumuda from the vertical face of the jagati and, heavier, dividing the jagati from the upana.[2] An additional minor cyma recta is placed above the final projecting moulding above the wall-kantha. The kantha is half the width of the wall-kantha, the projecting blocks of which are carved with miniatures and the intervening spaces with lozenge decoration. The ensemble is very rich, each part, here as on the rest of the fabric, superbly executed down to the smallest detail. This form of base is not employed on any monument hitherto discussed, but is used on at least three of the closely datable temples of the Third Phase,[3] though never with such effect. The first tala is of Form B.2. The panjaras project from the wall-section the whole width of the supporting pillars, their arched windows forming a large kudu within the kapota and their own base mouldings piercing the base of the vimana down to the upana (Plate 25). This is the first time we have met this form of the first tala: it appears, with less elaborate panjaras, on two temples which I shall claim belong to the Third Phase.[4] The south devakoshtha is occupied by a late Dakshinamurti, but the supporting figures are original. The west devakoshtha is occupied by Lingodbhava. Siva is flanked, outside the split-pilasters, by Brahma (original) and Vishnu (a later insertion). On the lingam Brahma is represented as a flying figure. The north devakoshtha is occupied by Brahma. The tympana are of the most elaborate form. In the field of the south tympanum is a

[1] Balasubrahmanyam, 1971, pp. 50–4, 221–2, 258–64 and Plates 43–50. [2] Balasubrahmanyam, 1971, Plate 43.

[3] Sembiyan Mahadevi (in or just before A.D. 981); Aduturai (in or just before A.D. 985); and the Achalesvara Shrine at Tiruvarur (in or just before A.D. 992).

[4] Karuntattangudi and Nalur-Tirumeyjnanam.

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figure of Nataraja in ananda-tandava under a projecting half-lotus canopy. The figure is virtually free-standing, fixed to the fabric between the shoulders and by small struts on both legs. There is no dwarf and no Ganga. In the field of the north tympana is the popular scene of the cow lustrating a lingam. The tower is missing. The ardhamandapa, of the same width as the vimana, is of the unique Form II.e. Three full devakoshthas with elaborate tympana occupy the whole length of the south wall. The west devakoshtha is occupied by Agastya (story of Candesvara in tympanum) and the centre devakoshtha by Ganesa (Kalyanasundara in tympanum). The east devakoshtha is blind, its field covered with old inscriptions and not intended for the reception of an image. On the north wall the west devakoshtha is blind (seated Siva in tympanum), the centre devakoshtha contains Durga (a four-armed Nataraja in *catura-tandava* in tympanum) (Plate 26), while the east devakoshtha (tympanum unfinished) is again blind. The recessed wall-space between vimana and ardhamandapa on the south contains a grille of three lozenges surrounded by incised ornament and set in two split-pilasters and lintel crowded by a tympanum with Narasimha in the field. The devakoshtha, tympanum unfinished, also exists in the north recessed wall-space but the field contains old inscriptions without the lozenge piercings. Where the recessed wall-spaces between vimana and ardhamandapa contain a grille, I have, perhaps clumsily, called the feature a 'false antarala'. Of course there is no articulation of the inner walls of the ardhamandapa, the grilles simply illuminating softly the inner corners. But the outer articulation with grilles suggests the existence of a vestibule or antarala. The door is flanked by large and magnificent two-armed dvarapalas (Plate 27). The roof of the ardhamandapa is supported within by two rows of two pillars. All pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order with roll corbels, throated and with median band. Of the parivaradevatas the Candesvara, very fine, is original.

As far as the architecture is concerned I would emphasize not only the 'lateness' but the transitional nature of the fabric. The base with its multiple, small cyma recta mouldings, unknown in the First Phase, anticipates in form and treatment the Third Phase. Again the form of the first tala and the introduction of the grille are only paralleled by temples of the Third Phase. Most important of all is the new planning of the walls of the ardhamandapa. In the Third Phase, Form II.f, in which three full devakoshthas, all designed for the reception of images, occupy the whole length of both walls, will become, if not the rule, at least the norm in the temples of Colamandalam. In this new iconographic scheme Agastya almost unvariably finds a place. There is surely no question that Tiruvaduturai is the forerunner of such a scheme. As for the sculptural style, it is not possible, I suggest, to confuse the main images with those at the Nagesvara Temple, or Pullamangai or Srinivasanallur. The ampler, laxer forms foreshadow the style of the Third Phase. The loving attention to detail and the accurate cutting of the First Phase remain.

The evidence of the inscriptions for the date of Tiruvaduturai is circumstantial but apparently conflicting. There are two inscriptions of year 2 of a Parakesari (135 and 136 of 1925). An inscription of year 3 (139 of 1925) of a Parakesari, possibly Parantaka I, records that Karralip-Pichchan of Tiruvaduturai purchased land for distribution among hymners, water-drawers and pipers. The same individual, in year 25 of Parantaka I (A.D. 932), made another purchase for the temple which he is said to have built (126 of 1925). He made further gifts in years 35, 38 and 39 of Parantaka I (125, 122 and 142, and 140 of 1925). On the south wall of the

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Balasubrahmanyam's final conclusion seems to be that Tiruvaduturai is the earliest of the Cola temples built in the days of Parantaka I. The construction in stone began in or before year 3, was nearing completion in year 25 and was finished and consecrated in year 38.[1] In other words the temple took some thirty-five years to complete. He interprets the word kudappadai to mean the final course of the sikhara: Parantaka I thus contributes merely this final course and the stone stupi above it. Balasubrahmanyam refers to the famous inscription of Rajaraja I which mentions the gilded copper pot (*seppukkudam*) which served as stupi to the great Rajarajesvara Temple at Tanjavur. At Tiruvaduturai, however, the king claims to have constructed the temple of *stone* from the kudappadai upwards. Thus if Balasubrahmanyam's interpretation of the term is accepted, Karralip-Pichchan's claim in year 25 to have built the temple is not strictly correct. Moreover, a third donor, Eluvan Sandira, in an undated inscription (106 of 1925) also claims to have constructed a course (padai) of the temple. His portrait and those of four other devotees are carved on the temple. I had previously followed the suggestion of my friend G. S. Gai that kudappadai was equivalent to kumudappadai and argued that on a stone base which had supported a brick superstructure (Karralip-Pichchan's temple) Parantaka had constructed a stone edifice. A more careful study of the temple and of Cola bases compels me to modify this view. Clearly base and walls are integral to the same design. I would now say there are two ways of interpreting the evidence. If kudappadai means the final stone course of the sikhara, the temple was begun in year 25, Karralip-Pichchan and at least one other being donors, and completed in year 38 with the king's help. If however kudappadai is equivalent to kumudappadai, on a course, presumably the jagati, provided by another donor, Parantaka I raised the present temple in stone from the kumuda upwards in or just before year 38. In this case Karralip-Pichchan's temple was probably of brick. He was a local dignitary and his earlier donations were copied without revision on to the new stone temple together with his portrait which is given no more prominence than the other portraits. Admittedly, the two claims to have built the temple are separated only by thirteen years but I incline to the view that this splendid monument, so advanced in conception and perfect in detail, was a royal foundation. The only way to resolve the crux is to consult the fabric itself. This demands as late a date as possible. I therefore prefer to believe that Tiruvaduturai was built in year 38 (A.D. 945).

One of the most important monuments of the Early Cola Period, and certainly one of the finest, is the *Naltunai Isvara Temple* at PUNJAI[2] (Tanjavur District), now suffering renovation. The original fabric, less the modern circular griva and sikhara, is in almost immaculate condition. Both vimana and ardhamandapa are on a base of Form A.2, the blocks of both kantha and wall-kantha being carved with excellent miniatures (Plate 29a). The first tala is of Form A.1. The south devakoshtha contains a Dakshinamurti with two

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[2] Balasubrahmanyam, 1971, pp. 151–6 and Plates 135–41.

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figure of Nataraja in ananda-tandava under a projecting half-lotus canopy. The figure is virtually free-standing, fixed to the fabric between the shoulders and by small struts on both legs. There is no dwarf and no Ganga. In the field of the north tympana is the popular scene of the cow lustrating a lingam. The tower is missing. The ardhamandapa, of the same width as the vimana, is of the unique Form II.e. Three full devakoshthas with elaborate tympana occupy the whole length of the south wall. The west devakoshtha is occupied by Agastya (story of Candesvara in tympanum) and the centre devakoshtha by Ganesa (Kalyanasundara in tympanum). The east devakoshtha is blind, its field covered with old inscriptions and not intended for the reception of an image. On the north wall the west devakoshtha is blind (seated Siva in tympanum), the centre devakoshtha contains Durga (a four-armed Nataraja in *catura-tandava* in tympanum) (Plate 26), while the east devakoshtha (tympanum unfinished) is again blind. The recessed wall-space between vimana and ardhamandapa on the south contains a grille of three lozenges surrounded by incised ornament and set in two split-pilasters and lintel crowded by a tympanum with Narasimha in the field. The devakoshtha, tympanum unfinished, also exists in the north recessed wall-space but the field contains old inscriptions without the lozenge piercings. Where the recessed wall-spaces between vimana and ardhamandapa contain a grille, I have, perhaps clumsily, called the feature a 'false antarala'. Of course there is no articulation of the inner walls of the ardhamandapa, the grilles simply illuminating softly the inner corners. But the outer articulation with grilles suggests the existence of a vestibule or antarala. The door is flanked by large and magnificent two-armed dvarapalas (Plate 27). The roof of the ardhamandapa is supported within by two rows of two pillars. All pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order with roll corbels, throated and with median band. Of the parivaradevatas the Candesvara, very fine, is original.

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supporters (Plate 30a), and the west a Lingodbhava (Plate 30b). There are no supporters to the latter, while Brahma is represented on the linga as a flying figure. The north devakoshtha is occupied by Brahma (Plate 31a). The tympana are of the most elaborate form, and contain Ardhanari leaning on Nandi (west) and an eight-armed dancing Durga (north). The south tympanum is obscured. The ardhamandapa is of the unique Form II.c. The two full devakoshthas occupy the whole length of the south wall. The west devakoshtha contains Ganesa and the east Agastya (Plate 29a). Over Ganesa is an elaborate tympanum containing Kalyanasundara (Plate 28) but over Agastya, a small demilune enclosing an interesting scene of Garuda adoring Vishnu (Plate 29b). Just to the east of Agastya is carved in low relief a scene of two men adoring a linga. On the north wall opposite Ganesa is a full devakoshtha containing Durga (Plate 32). In the elaborate tympanum is a Nataraja in ananda-tandava. Ganga and the dwarf are not represented and the snake depends from the left forearm. The garland issuing from the makaras contains a procession of horsemen. The rest of the north wall is left plain. The two-armed dvarapalas flanking the large door are very fine. One wears a trisula above his head-dress (Plate 31b). The roof is supported within by two rows of two pillars each, large and impressive with polygonal shafts and square bases. The vyala-mala of the ardhamandapa is pierced with conduits over which crouch dwarfs: this feature rarely survives. Of the parivaradevatas the Candesvara alone survives (Plate 33).

Punjai is again essentially a transitional monument though far less advanced architecturally than Tiru-vaduturai. It would be difficult to indicate on the vimana, the main images apart, any detail or handling of detail which could not be of the First Phase (Plates 34a and b). The base is of the familiar Form A.2 and the first tala of the simplest form employed in the Early Cola Period. The ardhamandapa, however, is another effort, more tentative than Tiruvaduturai, to approach the iconographic scheme of the Third Phase. But it is in the main images that a new approach is most evident. All are remarkable, though the Dakshinamurti, Durga, Ganesa and Candesvara are by a master hand. They seem finer and perhaps a little earlier than Tiruvaduturai, but this is partially due to the fact that at Punjai the sculptures are clean and open to the sky whereas at Tiruvaduturai, heavily oiled, they have to be contemplated from a dark cloister.

Unfortunately the evidence of the inscriptions does not permit a close dating for Punjai. On the temple itself there is no inscription earlier than year 22 of Rajaraja I (186 of 1925). On the stone base of the Candesvara shrine however there is an inscription (192 of 1925) of year 4 of Parakesari 'who took the head of the Pandya', namely Aditya II, who ruled from about A.D. 964 to A.D. 969. I would prefer to give Punjai a formal date of about A.D. 940.

Tiruvaduturai and Punjai are the two greatest monuments of the Second Phase. Both may be dated in the fifth decade of the century before the battle of Takkolam. I have, however, already indicated in the previous chapter that there is little evidence from surviving fabrics to occupy the period from about A.D. 930 to A.D. 950 in Colamandalam itself. Perhaps the new approach to sculptural form was already emerging in the metropolitan centres. With this period I would like to associate a small group of isolated sculptures. The most important is the already mentioned large figure of the goddess Durga (Plate 35) which stands before the empty north devakoshtha of the ardhamandapa of the Virattanesvara Temple at Kandiyur, which I have suggested may be

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dated in or just before year 11 of Parantaka I. There is, perhaps, no example of Early Cola figure sculpture of greater scale and authority. I would suggest it is rather earlier than the images at Punjai and may be dated in the fourth decade of the century. Its size makes its purpose doubtful: if it occupied a devakoshtha, the parent temple must have been on a grand scale. Near the Durga at Kandiyur is a seated Brahma. It is one of a series of large images of this deity. There are two in Tanjavur: in the garden of the Collector's Office, also said to come from Kandiyur, and, from Karuntattangudi, in the Tanjavur Art Gallery. There are also three in America, in the Metropolitan Museum, the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and the Buffalo Art Gallery.[1] All are in a similar style, some perhaps from the same *atelier*. They are carved in the round, though the backs are not fully finished. If they occupied devakoshthas they again indicate temples of large size. I would compare the noble style with Punjai and date the images of Brahma about A.D. 940.

After Punjai and Tiruvaduturai we are on the eve of the Battle of Takkolam. For twenty years until the accession of Uttama Cola in A.D. 969–70 the political situation is obscure and confused. Temple-building, if on a small scale, seems to have continued, and though Tiruvaduturai does not seem to have had an immediate successor, it is possible to indicate several monuments where the evidence of inscriptions or style suggest a date later than the First Phase.

The *Pipilesvara Temple* at TIRUVERUMBUR,[2] attractively situated on a low hill about five miles east of Tiruchirappalli, poses a nice problem of date and style. The problem of date is simply that two individuals, as at Tiruvaduturai, claim the honour of building the temple. The evidence of the no less than twenty-one Rajakesari inscriptions is most confusing. In year 19 a lady named Tattan Sendi made offerings to the god Aditta Bhattavar in the temple on the hill which she had built. In years 3 and 7 Velan Viranarayan, otherwise known as Sembiyan Vedi Velan, claimed to have built the Sri-Vimana of Sri Tiruverumbur Alvar. In several other inscriptions of years 3, 5 and 7 Velan Viranarayan made other very generous gifts: he seems to have had influence at the court. Balasubrahmanyam has untangled these inscriptions brilliantly. He has shown that the inscription of year 19 may be given to Aditya I. He further believes—here I follow more reluctantly with the low regnal years—that inscriptions of years 4, 5, 6, 18 and another of 19 may be referred to the same king. The inscriptions of years 3, 5 and 7 which mention Velan Viranarayan should however be given to Gandaraditya (*c.* A.D. 949–57). Consequently Tattan Sendi claimed to have built the temple in A.D. 889 (year 19 of Aditya I) and Velan Viranarayan in about A.D. 952 (year 3 of Gandaraditya). Balasubrahmanyam's resolution of this crux, since the inscriptions attributed to Aditya I are 'original', is to assume that the word 'vimana', which should mean the entire structure from upana to stupi, refers in the inscriptions of years 3 and 7 only to the 'superstructure'. If by 'superstructure' he means everything above the first tala, nothing remains of Velan Viranarayan's contribution, for the present tower is of brick and stucco. Consequently the present stone fabric is as early as year 19 of Aditya I and probably as early as year 4 of that king. I will try to show that this is not possible.

Both vimana and ardhamandapa are on a base of Form A.2, the blocks of both kantha and wall-kantha

[1] Rupam, Nos. 35–6, July–October, 1928.

[2] Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, pp. 114–23 and Plates 66–8.

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being carved with miniatures. The first tala is of the Form C.1, which is not found elsewhere in the Early Cola Period. The panjaras rest on the wall-kantha and terminate in a kudu of the main kapota. The whole base below the panjara from upana to wall-kantha is brought forward, leaving the full devakoshtha and the end wall-sections recessed in the same plane. In the panels above the vyala-mala of the panjaras are small figures of Nataraja in catura-tandava. The south devakoshtha is occupied by Dakshinamurti with supporters. Unfortunately this image is almost wholly concealed by a late Dakshinamurti placed immediately before it. The west devakoshtha contains Harihara and the north a late Brahma. The tympana are elaborate. The south tympanum contains a Nataraja in ananda-tandava standing on a crouching dwarf. There is no Ganga. The west tympanum contains a Narasimha and the north a Brahma. The ardhamandapa is of Form I.b. The south devakoshtha contains a late Ganesa with a Ganesa in the tympanum, and the north a late Durga with a Lakshmi in the tympanum. The two-armed dvarapalas are original and fine. There were two rows of two pillars each to support the roof within: only the corbels remain. All pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order with plain angular corbels. In front of the door of the ardhamandapa and separated from it by a distance of some four feet are two rows of three pillars each. They are round and of the full Early Cola order with plain angular corbels. They must have formed part of an original mandapa. They may be seen on Balasubrahmanyam's plan, which, it should be said, is incorrect in two respects: the west wall of the vimana should be of the same form as the north and south walls, and the ardhamandapa, being of Form I.b, should be narrower than the vimana.

I will argue nothing from the architectural fabric of the temple. The fact that the plan of the vimana is not found on any First Phase monument carries perhaps little weight since it is unique within the Early Cola Period as a whole. But there are three points which taken together should convince that the temple does not belong to the First Phase, let alone to year 4 of Aditya I. Balasubrahmanyam illustrates and accepts as original the one old and visible devakoshtha image, the Harihara.[1] Surely it is possible to tell at a glance that this is not a First Phase sculpture? It is later than Tiruvaduturai and is approaching very close to the style of the Third Phase. Secondly, we know of no representation of Nataraja in ananda-tandava earlier than that on the ruined Sadaiyar Temple at Tiruchchennampundi founded in or about year 14 of Parantaka I. We have also seen it, in a tympanum, at Tiruvaduturai and Punjai, and, on a wall-kantha, on the Surya shrine at the Nagesvara Temple, which may well be dated in or just before year 40 of Parantaka I. In the Third Phase we shall find this form of Nataraja as part of the main iconographic scheme of the ardhamandapa. It is fair to assume on present evidence that the presence of the Nataraja in ananda-tanda at Tiruverumbur places that temple in the reign of Parantaka I or later. Finally Balasubrahmanyam illustrates three of the surviving parivaradevatas.[2] The Candesvara is late, but the Surya and Karttikeya are First Phase sculptures which could easily be as early as in or about the last decade of the ninth century A.D. The history of the Tiruverumbur temple is, I think, clear. Tattan Sendi built a temple, perhaps of brick, in or about year 19 of Aditya I (A.D. 889). All that remains are the surviving parivaradevatas. In or about year 3 of Gandaraditya (about A.D. 952) Velan Virana-rayan rebuilt the temple of stone: his temple is the surviving fabric.

[1] Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, Plate 66. [2] Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, Plates 67b and 68a and b.

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Tiruverumbur was not the only temple with which Velan Viranarayan, otherwise known as Sembiyan Vedi Velan, was associated. KOVILADI[1] (Tanjavur District), situated midway between Tirukkattuppalli and the Grand Anicut, was one of the centres of the Muttaraiyar and possessed a temple in the ninth century A.D. In an inscription on the *Divyajnesvara Temple* of year 3 (281 of 1901: *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. VII, No. 495) and in another undated (279 of 1901: *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. VII, No. 301) of a Rajakesari, Sembiyan Vedi Velan is said to have had the vimana of the temple constructed of stone. We may assume the Rajakesari in question to be again Gandaraditya and Koviladi to be exactly contemporary with Tiruverumbur (about A.D. 952). Balasubrahmanyam attributes an uncopied inscription of year 4 of a Rajakesari to Aditya I and suggests that Vedi Velan completed work begun under that king. There is however no reason to question the explicit claim for Vedi Velan.

Both vimana and ardhamandapa are on a base of Form A.2. Below the upana three projecting mouldings, straight in profile, make up a simple kind of upapitha. The first tala is of Form A.1. In the south devakoshtha is a modern Dakshinamurti, in the west Ardhanari and in the north Brahma. The tympana are merely blocked out. The round griva and sikhara are of brick and stucco. The ardhamandapa is of Form I.b, the south devakoshtha occupied by a standing Ganesa and the north by Durga. The two-armed dvarapalas are small but good. All pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order with plain angular corbels. The architectural plan and detail are wholly First Phase but the style of the images is transitional. This is particularly evident in a large and fine Karttikeya presumably from a lost sub-shrine, which is now preserved in the High School at Tirukkattuppalli.

A mile west of the First Phase site of Kilaiyur lies the village of MELAPPALUVUR.[2] The present fabric of the *Sundaresvara Temple* does not date from our period. There are two inscriptions built into the Amman Shrine within the compound. One of year 16 of Parakesari Uttama Cola (395 of 1924) records a gift of the Paluvettaraiyan chieftain Kandan Maravan. The other of year 4 of a Rajakesari who is almost certainly Rajaraja I (394 of 1924) says that the temple was built by Kandan Maravan. All that remains of this temple are a Third Phase Bhikshatana, Vishnu, Jyestha and Candesvara. There is some evidence that an earlier temple occupied the site before that built by Kandan Maravan in or before year 4 of Rajaraja I. Inscriptions survive of years 5 (397 of 1924) and 10 (398 of 1924) of a Parakesari who may be Uttama Cola. Near the latter, the Government Epigraphist reports, is a fragmentary inscription of year 4 of Parakesari 'who took the head of the Pandya'. This inscription of Aditya II (A.D. 968) seems to be the earliest on the site. There is also a gopura comparable with but not as fine as that at Kilaiyur and not perhaps as early. The small dvarapalas probably belong to the tenth century A.D. There is, however, in one of the sub-shrines a large and magnificent image of Karttikeya (Plate 36), which is close in style to the images at Tiruvaduturai and, when compared with the standing Karttikeya at nearby Kilaiyur, demonstrates clearly the difference in sculptural form between the First Phase and the Second. I would suggest that the temple which occupied the site before that built by Kandan Maravan was constructed about A.D. 940 to A.D. 950.

[1] Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, pp. 144–6 and Plates 74–6.
[2] Balasubrahmanyam, 1963, pp. 25–8 and Plates 17–20; Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, Plates 63–5.

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THE SECOND PHASE

KODUMBALUR has already been mentioned as the capital of the Irukkuvel chieftains and the site of the Mucukundesvara Temple of the reign of Parantaka I. More important than the Mucukundesvara is the remarkable complex known as the *Muvarkoyil* or temple with three shrines. Of the northern shrine only the base remains but the vimanas of the other two, judiciously restored, are in excellent condition. On the south wall of the central shrine is an important inscription which not only contains the genealogy of nine generations of Irukkuvel chieftains but also states that Vikramakesari built the three vimanas in his name and in that of his two queens. Vikramakesari was the contemporary and ally of Sundara Cola and Aditya II,[1] and the Muvarkoyil may be dated within a decade either side of A.D. 960.

The bases of all three shrines are of Form C.3. The first tala of the two surviving vimanas are of Form B.3. Of the central shrine the north devakoshtha contains a blurred Bhikshatana and the east a very beautiful Ardhanari (Plate 38), while the south is empty. Of the south shrine the north devakoshtha contains a Bhikshatana, also blurred, the east Gangadhara and the south Vinadhara Dakshinamurti. Though damaged the tympana are excellent. The second tala and square griva and sikhara of both vimanas are of clean stone, elegantly proportioned and with crisp detail (Plate 37). The second tala of the central shrine contains a seated Siva and Parvati (east) and a seated Siva (north). The second tala of the southern shrine contains a four-armed Nataraja (south), a superb Kalahara (east), a standing Siva and Parvati (north) and a Harihara (west). The griva of the central shrine contains Dakshinamurti (south), Indra (east), a seated Siva (north) (Plate 41), and a seated Siva and Parvati (west) (Plate 40). The griva of the southern shrine contains Gajasura (south). Tripurantaka (east) and Gangadhara (north). The ardhamandapas of all three shrines were presumably of Form I.a. Among the rich collection of loose sculptures on the site original dvarapalas can be identified (Plate 42). All pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order with roll corbels, throated and with median band. The complete temple complex must have been elaborate. The bases remain of a common mandapa before the three shrines and of numerous sub-shrines.

There is nothing in the architecture of the Muvarkoyil which demands a date early in the second half of the tenth century A.D. The base, elevation and detail remain firmly rooted in the style of the First Phase, to which, indeed, the temple complex has sometimes been attributed. The sculptures however do seem to be a version, beautiful certainly but with less authority and precision, of the images at Tiruvaduturai and Punjai.

The Muvarkoyil seems to be the sole representative of the Second Phase on the southern border of Colamandalam. As one might expect in this troubled period the evidence of temple building in the country between Colamandalam and Tondaimandalam is small. As for Tondaimandalam itself I cannot quote a single monument.

The village of BAHUR[2] lies some ten miles from Pondicherry on the road leading south to Cuddalore. On the *Mulesvara Temple* are several inscriptions of Kannaradeva, that is, the Rashtrakuta King Krishna III (A.D. 939–67). They are dated in years 22 (175–177 of 1902), 26 (172 of 1902) and 27 (183–184 of 1902). There

[1] Balasubrahmanyam, 1971, pp. 108–37 and Plates 93–102. Balasubrahmanyam's detailed analysis of the date of Vikramakesari is wholly convincing.

[2] Balasubrahmanyam, 1971, pp. 88–9.

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is also an inscription of year 5 of Aditya II. The inscription of year 26 of Kannaradeva is helpful. It records a gift of four stone slabs towards the construction of a course (*padai*) of the temple. We may assume that the temple was under construction in A.D. 965.

The vimana and ardhamandapa of the Mulesvara Temple rest on a base of Form A.1, itself lifted on a high and elaborate upapitha, a feature not found on any temple hitherto discussed (Plate 43). The 'planks' of the upapitha are decorated with floral scrolling, and the panels between, framed within recessed straight and lotus mouldings, carry figures of female dancers, monkeys, elephants and dwarfs. Between upapitha and adhishthana is a strong lotus-petalled cyma recta. The first tala is of Form A.1. The south devakoshtha contains a late Dakshinamurti, the west a Vishnu and the north a Brahma. The two latter images may belong. There are no tympana to the devakoshthas. The square griva and sikhara are of brick and stucco. The ardhamandapa is of Form II.b. The south devakoshtha contains a dancing Ganesa (late) and the north a Durga, which may belong. The dvarapalas are missing. The ardhamandapa is supported within by two rows of two pillars each. All pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order, with roll corbels, throated and with median band. The importance of Bahur derives entirely from the remarkable upapitha, more modest examples of which we shall find in the Third Phase. There is also little doubt that the style of the figural sculpture and scrolling on the upapitha owes a great deal to Deccan example.

The sacred town of Tirukkoyilur (South Arcot District) lies some twenty-five miles north-west of Villupuram. In its suburb of KILUR is the *Virattanesvara Temple*.[1] Here again there are inscriptions of Kannaradeva of years 19 (269 of 1902), 21 (268 of 1902), 23 (266 of 1902), 24 (267 of 1902) and 26 (270 of 1902). There is also an important dual inscription (270 and 280 of 1902) dated in years 28 and presumably 33 of Parantaka I, one of which refers to a gift by a member of the regiment of Arikulakesari, the king's son, who was stationed in this region with his brother Rajaditya. There is an inscription of year 13 of Parantaka I (298 of 1902) on a rock within the prakara of the temple.

Both vimana and ardhamandapa are on a base which seems to be transitional between Form B.4.a and Form B.4.b, which is found only in the Third Phase. It follows Form B.4.a except that a fairly heavy cyma recta lotus moulding separates jagati and upana. The blocks of the wall-kantha are carved with miniatures. The first tala is of Form B.3. The south devakoshtha contains a late Dakshinamurti, the east Lingodbhava and the north Brahma. There are no supporters to the Lingodbhava, while the Brahma on the linga, which lacks its flames, is shown mounted on the hamsa. This is the first occurrence of this iconographic form: it will not be found again until the beginning of the Third Phase. The tympana are elaborate and fine. The ardhamandapa is of Form II.b. Both devakoshthas are empty. Against the north wall leans a fine panel of Durga; it is too large to have occupied the devakoshtha. The tympanum of the south devakoshtha is unusual in that the garland is drawn from the mouths not of makaras but of hamas with floriate tails. The two-armed dvarapalas are huge. The door is also very large and of a design not found elsewhere in the Early Cola Period. At the base of the jamb are two *niddhis* (dwarfs) supporting the river goddesses Ganga and Yamuna, whose

[1] Balasubrahmanyam, 1971, pp. 85–8 and Plates 88–91. Plate 91 is a late bronze figure of Appar.

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presence is a regular feature of the temples of North India and the Deccan. A regularly curving scroll enclosing figures runs up each jamb to a large structure like a sala which acts as lintel. All pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order with roll corbels, throated and with median band.

Taken as a whole Kilur is a magnificent temple. I believe it was taken down and rebuilt, since the foundations were unstable, some time about A.D. 1905.[1] The sculptural style with its fuller forms is comparable with Punjai. The Deccan elements in the design of the door suggest a date after the invasion of Krishna III. I would prefer therefore to place the present fabric closer to about year 20 of Krishna III (A.D. 959) than to about year 33 of Parantaka I (A.D. 940).

South of Villapuram on the main road to Tiruchirappalli and close to the village of PERANGIYUR is a ruined *Siva Temple*. Both vimana and ardhamandapa are on a base of Form A.1. The first tala is of Form A.2 (Plate 44). The south devakoshtha contains an unusual Dakshinamurti, the lower part of the body turned sideways to his left and the left leg loosely crossed over the right thigh (Plate 45). The west and north devakoshthas are empty but there survives in the ardhamandapa a standing Vishnu which almost certainly occupied the west devakoshtha. The elaborate tympana are merely blocked out. The tower is missing. The ardhamandapa is of Form I.b. The south devakoshtha contains a Ganesa of a type unique, I believe, in the Early Cola Period: the deity inclines his head to his left and curls the tip of his trunk to his right (Plate 46). In the north devakoshtha is a Durga standing directly on her double-lotus pedestal (Plate 47). The tympana are again blocked out. The dvarapalas are missing. All pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order with roll corbels, throated and with median band.

None of the inscriptions (199–220 of 1906) refer to the construction of the temple. There are four inscriptions of Rajaraja I, of which one has lost its date (204 of 1906) while the others are dated in year 22 (219 of 1906), year 24 (208 of 1906) and year 28 (218 of 1906). Two inscriptions of years 4 (211 of 1906: *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. XIII, No. 83) and 6 (211 of 1906: *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. XIII, No. 131) of a Rajakesari almost certainly belong to Rajaraja I. There are three earlier inscriptions. One (203 of year 1906) is dated year 5 of Aditya II (A.D. 969). Another (199 of 1906) is dated in year 17 of Sri Kannaradeva 'who took Kachchi and Tanjai' (A.D. 956): it is incomplete and above it is an unfinished inscription which contains the words 'Madiraikonda Ko-Parakesari'. The third (200 of 1906), recording a sale of land, is dated year 17 of Madiraikonda Parakesari, i.e., Parantaka I.

There is nothing in the architecture of this simple shrine to indicate a date later than the First Phase. The images cannot, as I hope it will appear, be as late as the early part of the reign of Rajaraja I. It may be thought that the Durga is as early as year 17 of Parantaka I. The Dakshinamurti and the Vishnu however seem to me to belong to the Second Phase. For the delightful Ganesa, since a parallel on an Early Cola temple seems not to exist, I would like to have quoted a Deccan source, but have not been successful. On the whole I incline to the view that this interesting little ruin belongs to the period of Rashtrakuta occupation and may be dated about A.D. 950.

[1] Annual Reports on Epigraphy, 1905, p. 5.

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c. A.D. 940–970

The development of the Early Cola style during the Second Phase seems to be somewhat as follows. Before the Battle of Takkolam (A.D. 949) when the kingdom was still powerful and secure, the Cola had erected at Tiruvaduturai a temple which in architectural detail and plan and, to a lesser extent, in sculptural style anticipated the Third Phase. This movement away from the style of the First Phase was shared in some degree by Punjai but was thereafter interrupted or retarded by the confused state of the kingdom brought about by the Rashtrakuta invasion. With the revival of temple building on a large scale just before and after the accession of Uttama Cola (A.D. 969) the new style of the Third Phase is, as we shall see, immediately established.

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7

THE THIRD OR SEMBIYAN MAHADEVI PHASE

The Reign of Uttama Cola (A.D. 969–985)

By the accession of Uttama Cola in A.D. 969–70 the Early Cola kingdom had recovered from the débâcle at Takkolam. Quiet and prosperity had returned to Colamandalam, and Tondaimandalam had been more or less retaken. The newly gained security and confidence are reflected in a revival of temple-building on a scale comparable with that of the First Phase. But here we are on much firmer ground with a series of closely datable monuments covering the whole reign. A number of temples were built or patronized by Sembiyan Mahadevi, the Queen of Gandaraditya and mother of Uttama Cola. Widowed early, she seems to have devoted her life to the service of religion and art. Numerous inscriptions give details of her munificence from late in the reign of Parantaka I[1] to the very beginning of the eleventh century A.D., a period of sixty years. She seems to have commanded the respect of Rajaraja I equally with that of her own son. It is appropriate that the key monument for the Third Phase should have been founded by her.

On the south wall of the vimana of the *Umamahesvara Temple* at KONERIRAJAPURAM[2] (Tanjavur District) is engraved, below a small sculptured panel, an inscription (450 of 1908: text in *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, No. 146) which states that Sembiyan Mahadevi, wife of Gandaraditya and mother of Uttama Cola, built the temple in the name of her dead husband when her son was ruling and that this (the small panel) is the image of the glorious Gandaraditya worshipping the sacred feet of the Lord of Tirunallam (Konerirajapuram). The panel shows Gandaraditya kneeling in adoration before a linga. Behind Gandaraditya are a chauri-bearer and a kneeling figure under an umbrella while a third figure garlands the linga. A second long inscription on the south, east and north walls of the vimana, dated in years 7 and 8 of Uttama Cola (635 of 1909: text in *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, Nos. 151 and 151A) announces that the king was informed that Sembiyan Mahadevi had constructed the temple, and provides interesting details of the highly organized temple administration and includes a reference to a donation to maintain the flower garden in year 3 of the reign. The Konerirajapuram Temple may then be dated between A.D. 969 and A.D. 976, or perhaps, even more closely, between A.D. 969 and A.D. 972. On the south wall of the vimana is another small

[1] At Uyyakkondan Tirumalai (Tiruchirappalli District) is an inscription (96 of 1892) which records a gift in year 34 of Parantaka I.
[2] Balasubrahmanyam, 1971, pp. 165–72 and Plates 162–73.

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panel carved with a male figure. An inscription describes the figure as that of Sattan Gunabattan who built the temple for Sembiyan Mahadevi. He was presumably the officer of works.

The temple has, in the last few years, been painted. This has blurred much of the detail and I regret I cannot give all the information I could have wished. The images also are covered with a thick skin of oil and soot. Both vimana and ardhamandapa are on a base of Form A.2, the blocks of the wall-kantha carved with good miniatures. The first tala is of Form B.3. The south devakoshtha contains a late Dakshinamurti, the north a Brahma. The east devakoshtha contains a Lingodbhava with large flanking figures of Brahma and Vishnu and, on the linga, Brahma mounted on the hamsa (Plate 48). I was unable to read the elaborate tympana. The tower is unfortunately of no interest. The ardhamandapa is of Form II.f, that is, with the whole length of the side walls occupied by three full devakoshthas designed for the reception of images. These images are, reading from the east: Nataraja in ananda-tandava (Plate 49b), Ganesa and Agastya (south wall); and Bhikshatana (Plate 50), Durga and Ardhanari (Plate 49a) (north wall). Both the recessed wall-spaces between vimana and ardhamandapa contain a grille of three lozenges set within split-pilasters and lintel but without tympanum. The two-armed dvarapalas are excellent. The roof is supported within by two rows of two pillars. All pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order with roll corbels, throated and with decorated median band.

The vimana exhibits no new architectural feature. Indeed, the base and elevation, both here and in several other temples of the reign, are more conservative than Tiruvaduturai. It is only when we see the Third Phase as a whole that we shall appreciate how advanced Tiruvaduturai was in this respect. The disposition of the images on the vimana, Dakshinamurti (south), Lingodbhava (east or west) and Brahma (north) now becomes fairly regular in Colamandalam. The form of the ardhamandapa, however, is a complete innovation. Here for the first time we find the whole length of both side-walls occupied by full devakoshthas designed to receive images. This is clearly an extension of the scheme found at Tiruvaduturai and Punjai. An interesting point for students of Early Cola bronzes is that the Nataraja in ananda-tandava, which appears for the first time as a devakoshtha image on an Early Cola temple, is of canonical form except that the snake depends from the left wrist and Ganga is shown in the hair on the god's left.

The sculptural style has moved completely away from that of the First Phase. We are in a different world altogether, and it would be impossible to mistake an image of the First Phase for one of the Third. The main sculptures, unequal perhaps in quality as throughout the Third Phase, are uniform in style both here and on the other temples I shall describe. So uniform indeed that it is not difficult to confuse images from one temple with those from another. One gains the impression that Sembiyan Mahadevi herself had one atelier or group of sculptors working on her commissions, at least in Colamandalam. I hope it is clear from the illustrations that the source of the style is Tiruvaduturai and Punjai, and that the two latter are closer in their feeling for form to the Third than to the First Phase.

The Konerirajapuram Temple contains a rich and splendid collection of bronzes. Those which belong to the Early Cola Period have been described in my *Early Cola Bronzes*. I should repeat that the Bhogesvari in the

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vimana,[1] claimed by Balasubrahmanyam as the earliest bronze of the Third Phase, does not belong to the Early Cola Period; nor do the consort[2] of the Third Phase Nataraja or a second Nataraja.[3]

Almost exactly contemporary with Konerirajapuram was the *Mahalingaswami Temple* at TIRUVIDAIMARUDUR[4] (Tanjavur District). Before its destruction in this century the inscriptions were copied (130–159 of 1895 and 193–313 of 1907). The destroyed temple was the second to occupy the site. An inscription (199 of 1907), dated year 4 of a Parakesari who is certainly Uttama Cola, instructs that all inscribed stones relating to endowments and kept in underground cellars prior to the rebuilding of the temple in stone, should be re-engraved on the walls of the new temple. The temple therefore was rebuilt of stone in or just before A.D. 973. Fortunately four old photographs exist of the temple just before its destruction, which tell us much of what we would like to know.

Both vimana and ardhamandapa are on a base of Form A.2, the blocks of the wall-kantha carved with miniatures. The first tala is of the Form B.5, which it shares with only one other temple, the Tirukkotisvara at Tirukkodikaval built, as we shall see, in or just before year 11 of Uttama Cola. At Tiruvidaimarudur, however, the male adorers are placed in devakoshthas. In the south main devakoshtha was a Dakshinamurti: the image is missing but the supporting figures are clear. In the west was a Lingodbhava: the supporting Brahma and Vishnu are clear. In the north was Brahma, flanked, it seems, by two male worshippers. The tympana are of the elaborate form. The ardhamandapa is of the rare Form I.e., that is, though the ardhamandapa abuts directly on to the vimana, the whole length of each side wall is occupied by a narrow devakoshtha framing a grille and by three full devakoshthas designed to receive images. Only the central full devakoshtha seems to have had a tympanum. On the photographs none of the ardhamandapa images is visible, but a good Third Phase Ardhanari survives in the modern temple. The pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order with roll corbels, throated and with median band. On the palagais at the projecting corners of the vimana are rearing vyalas. A surviving image of Karttikeya suggests that the earlier temple, built perhaps of brick, belonged to the reign of Aditya I.

The *Agastyesvara Temple* at ANANGUR,[5] about two miles from Tiruvaduturai, is fairly closely dated. An undated inscription (75 of 1926) records large donations by Sembiyan Mahadevi who constructed the stone temple. A second inscription (78 of 1926) records a gift in year 10 of a Parakesari who is almost certainly Uttama Cola. It is safe to say that the temple was built by Sembiyan Mahadevi in or just before A.D. 979.

Both vimana and ardhamandapa are on a base of Form A.2; the blocks of the wall-kantha, which is wider than the kantha, are carved with miniatures. The first tala is of Form B.3 (Plate 51). The south devakoshtha contains a Dakshinamurti with supporters and the north a Brahma. The west devakoshtha contains Lingodbhava with flanking figures of Brahma and Vishnu and, on the linga, Brahma mounted on the hamsa.

[1] Balasubrahmanyam, 1971, Plate 173. [2] Balasubrahmanyam, 1971, Plate 170. [3] Balasubrahmanyam, 1971, Plate 169.
[4] Douglas Barrett, 'Two Lost Early Cola Temples', *Oriental Art*, Vol. XVII, No. I, Spring 1971.
[5] Balasubrahmanyam, 1971, pp. 185–6 and Plates 203–14.

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The tympana are of the elaborate form. The second tala, griva and sikhara are of brick. The ardhamandapa is of Form II.f with the recessed wall-spaces left plain. The images are, reading from the west, Nataraja in ananda-tandava, Agastya and Ganesa (south wall), and Bhikshatana, Durga (Plate 53) and Ardhanari (Plate 52) (north wall). There seems to be no Ganga in the hair of the Nataraja. Two-armed dvarapalas flank the door. Pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order with roll corbels, throated and with median band.

The *Tirukkotisvara Temple* at TIRUKKODIKAVAL[1] (Tanjavur District) is precisely dated. An inscription of year 11 of Uttama Cola (36 of 1930–1) refers to the construction of the *srivimana* with stone by Sembiyan Mahadevi and to the re-engraving of inscriptions which lay scattered in several places. The temple was built in A.D. 980.

Unfortunately the fabric is in poor condition throughout and, though the images are original, they are weathered and covered with oil. Both vimana and ardhamandapa are on a base of Form A.2: the blocks of both kantha and wall-kantha are carved with miniatures. The first tala is of Form B.5, which it shares with only one other temple, the Mahalingaswami at Tiruvidaimarudur. At Tirukkodikaval however the adorers are set direct into the wall. Three are bearded and all except one keep one hand on the hip and hold a lotus in the other. The south devakoshtha is occupied by Dakshinamurti, the west by Lingodbhava and the north by Brahma. On the Lingodbhava Brahma is represented on the linga simply by his hamsa: this is the first occurrence of this iconographic form on a dated temple in the Early Cola Period. The tympana are elaborate but worn: that above Brahma contains a Nataraja in catura pose. The round griva and sikhara are covered with painted plaster. The ardhamandapa is of Form II.f, the recessed wall-spaces occupied by a devakoshtha with tympanum but without grille. The images are, reading from the west, Agastya, Ganesa and Nataraja in ananda-tandava (south wall), and Bhikshatana, Durga and Ardhanari (north wall). The Nataraja wears the snake on the left wrist: there is no Ganga. Two-armed dvarapalas flank the door. The roof is supported within by two rows of two pillars each. All pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order with roll corbels, throated and with median band. On all engaged pillars and pilasters of the vimana but not of the ardha-mandapa the torus of the padma is carved with munai.

We now move for the moment out of Tanjavur District to the famous *Vriddhagirisvara Temple* at VRIDDHACHALAM[2] in South Arcot District. An inscription (47 of 1918) records that the *srikoyil* (the temple), the *snapana mandapa* (hall for bathing the deities), the gopura, the *surralai* (covered verandah) and subsidiary shrines were constructed by Sembiyan Mahadevi. The inscription is dated year 12 of a Parakesari who must be Uttama Cola. All Sembiyan Mahadevi's work has disappeared except the temple itself which may be dated A.D. 981.

Both vimana and ardhamandapam are on a high and elaborate base of Form B.5, found only here and on the Uktavedesvara Temple at Kuttalam, built in or just before A.D. 991. Hitherto the architect of the Third Phase has been content to use Form A.2 which was popular in all three Phases. Now for the first time he

[1] Balasubrahmanyam, 1971, pp. 174–6. [2] Balasubrahmanyam, 1971, pp. 197–200.

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revives the use of the multiple minor cyma recta mouldings first employed at Tiruvaduturai (Form B.2.a). In fact the Form B.5, lacking the narrow vyala-mala, is a little less elaborate than the rare Form B.6 used at Pullamangai and Tiruchchennampundi in the First Phase. It gives however a richer impression simply because of the minor cyma recta mouldings. The first tala is of Form B.3. The south devakoshtha is occupied by a late Dakshinamurti, the west by a late Lingodbhava and the north by a late Brahma. The tympana are elaborate. The ardhamandapa is of Form II.b.1, that is, with the centre of the walls occupied by a full deva-koshtha with flanking pilasters, but on either side of the full devakoshtha is cut a plain rectangular niche so as to accommodate the full iconographic scheme of the Third Phase. The result is similar to the Nagesvara Temple of the First Phase but with an entirely different intention. Moreover the recessed wall-spaces are occupied by a devakoshtha with tympanum enclosing a single lozenge piercing. On the south wall both devakoshtha and niches now contain late images of Ganesa. Over the devakoshtha is a very good tympanum containing a Kalahara. The devakoshtha on the north wall is empty, but the tympanum contains a Mahisha-suramardini. The flanking niches contain two of the finest of Third Phase images, a Gangadhara (west) and Ardhanari (east) (Plate 54). The large two-armed dvarapalas are not original. The roof is supported by two rows of two pillars each. All pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order with roll corbels, throated and with median band. The detail is excellent and the two surviving figures evidently came from the royal *atelier*. This is the first time, however, we meet with this rather perfunctory method of accommodating the full iconographic scheme on the ardhamandapa.

The *Kailasanatha Temple* at SEMBIYAN MAHADEVI[1] (Tanjavur District) was built in a new village created by the queen and named after her. Inscriptions of years 12 to 16 of a Parakesari, who must be Uttama Cola, record services on Sembiyan Mahadevi's birthday and donations by the seven queens of Uttama Cola (485, 488, 491, 492, 494 and 496 of 1925). Gifts by Sembiyan Mahadevi herself in year 3 of Rajaraja I (497 of 1925) and by her daughter-in-law in year 7 of Rajaraja I (480 of 1925) are also recorded. It is fair to assume that Sembiyan Mahadevi built the temple in or just before year 12 of Uttama Cola (A.D. 981).

The fabric is in poor condition. Both vimana and ardhamandapa are on a base of Form B.2.a, which was used for the first time at Tiruvaduturai. The first tala is of Form D.3 (Plate 55). In the recessed wall-sections the male adorers, one hand on hip and the other holding a lotus, are framed in split-pilasters and lintel with tympanum. The south devakoshtha contains a Dakshinamurti and the north a Brahma. In the west deva-koshtha a Vishnu is an obvious replacement for a Lingodbhava: the two supporting figures of Brahma and Vishnu survive. The tympana are elaborate but blurred. The second tala, griva and sikhara are covered with painted stucco. The ardhamandapa is of Form II.f, with the recessed wall-spaces left plain. The images are, reading from the west, Ganesa, Nataraja in ananda-tandava (Plate 56) and Agastya (south wall), and Ardhanari (Plate 57), Durga and Bhikshatana (Plate 58) (north wall). The Nataraja may have a Ganga on his right: the snake depends from his left wrist. The left leg is a plaster restoration. The two-armed dvarapalas

[1] Balasubrahmanyam, 1971, pp. 181–3 and Plates 186–93. In Plate 192 the superb bronze Parvati (Third Phase) is presented as the consort of the late bronze Nataraja.

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are original. All pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order with roll corbels, throated and with median band. On the engaged pillars flanking the projecting frontispieces of the vimana the torus of the padma is carved with munai. An interesting iconographic point is that here for the first time the Nataraja occupies the central devakoshtha of the south wall of the ardhamandapa, a position hitherto, with rare exceptions, reserved for Ganesa.

The village of TIRUKKURUHAVUR[1] lies some five miles east of Sirkali in Tanjavur District. On the *Tiruvelladai Isvara Temple* an inscription of year 13 of a Parakesari (434 of 1918) states that the temple was built of stone by Semban Arulan Uttama Nidhi otherwise known as Uttama Cola Muvendavelan. We may assume the temple was built in or just before year 13 of Uttama Cola (A.D. 982).

Both vimana and ardhamandapa are on a base of Form A.2. The first tala is of Form B.1. The south devakoshtha contains a Dakshinamurti, the west a Lingodbhava and the north a Brahma. On the Longodbhava, Brahma is represented as a flying figure. The round griva and sikhara are covered with stucco. The ardhamandapa is of Form II.b. The south devakoshtha contains a Ganesa and the north a Durga. The recessed wall-spaces are occupied by a narrow blind devakoshtha with tympanum. The two-armed dvarapalas are of fair quality. All pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order with roll corbels, throated and with median band.

In the Third Phase temples hitherto described the full complement of six images has been accommodated on the walls of the ardhamandapa either in six devakoshthas (Forms II.f or I.e) or in two devakoshthas each flanked by two rectangular niches (Form II.b.1). Tirukkuruhavur however retains the earlier scheme in which only two images are displayed on the ardhamandapa. Architecturally the one feature not found on any First or Second Phase ardhamandapa of Form II.b is the introduction of the narrow devakoshtha in the recessed wall-spaces. Moreover as far as the sculptures are concerned all five images and dvarapalas are in full Third Phase style. Despite the 'old-fashioned' plan of the ardhamandapa there is no reason to question the date of this temple.

For our next two datable temples we move again out of Tanjavur District. The village of GOVINDAPUTTUR[2] stands on the north bank of the River Kollidam in Tiruchirappali District. On the *Gangajatadhara Temple* two inscriptions of year 13 of Parakesari (165 and 166 of 1928–9) state that the srivimana was built of stone by Ambalavan-Paluvurnakkam, the *perundaram* (noble) of Uttama Cola, who had already made a gift to the temple in year 10 of Parakesari (170 of 1928–9). In year 14 of Parakesari (164 of 1928–9) the same dignitary makes the same claim and in addition presents a village to meet all temple expenses. We may assume the temple was built in or just before year 13 of Uttama Cola (A.D. 982).

Both vimana and ardhamandapa are on a base of Form C.5 not found elsewhere, so far as I am aware, in the Early Cola Period. The first tala is of Form B.1. The south devakoshtha contains a late Dakshinamurti

[1] Balasubrahmanyam, 1971, pp. 186–7 and Plates 215–23.

[2] Balasubrahmanyam, 1971, pp. 39–40 and 162–4 and Plates 149–61. The bronzes illustrated in Plates 159–61 do not, of course, belong to the Early Cola Period.

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(the original is in the verandah of the temple), the west Vishnu and the north Brahma with kneeling adorers (Plate 59). The round griva and sikhara are covered with stucco. The ardhamandapa is of Form II.b.1 with plain recessed wall-spaces. Though the side walls are treated like those at Vriddhachalam to accommodate the six images, the plain rectangular niches are small. The south devakoshtha is occupied by Nataraja in ananda-tandava, missing from the waist down: a small figure of a drummer is carved alongside. The west niche is empty but the east contains a standing Ganesa. The north devakoshtha is occupied by Durga with one self-immolating supporter (Plate 60). The west niche figure is a Kalahara, the east a Bhikshatana. The two-armed dvarapalas are large. The pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order. In the temple compound is a good set of Matrikas, a Ganesa and standing Durga. The sculptures are in a somewhat harsher style than that south of the River Kollidam and here Vishnu is retained on the west wall of the vimana.

There is on the Govindaputtur temple an inscription (177 of 1928–9) of year 22 of Parantaka I. This has persuaded Balasubrahmanyam to maintain that 'the temple, at least the garbhagriha (vimana) part of it, must have been built of stone even in the days of Parantaka I and the temple should have received its additions and has its completion in the days of Uttama Chola'. He adds that the base and the installation of Vishnu in the west devakoshtha and the devakoshtha of Durga all support an early date for the temple. In short he is claiming that the whole of the temple belongs to a date in or before year 22 of Parantaka I, less the four niche-images on the ardhamandapa, which were presumably installed about year 13 of Uttama Cola. I believe that neither architecture nor the style of the sculpture will allow a rejection of Ambalavan-Paluvurnakkam's explicit claim to have built the temple of stone. The form of the base, not so far as I am aware found elsewhere in the Early Cola Period, does not support either view, but since it follows Form B.5, found only on Third Phase temples, there is a presumption that it belongs to the Third Phase. Again, if the Durga, a devakoshtha figure, is 'original', what of the Nataraja in the south devakoshtha? On present evidence a Nataraja finds a place on the ardhamandapa, either in devakoshtha or niche, not before the Third Phase. Indeed, the first known instance of its occupying a central position is at Sembiyan Mahadevi. Finally, there is no reason to assume without other evidence that where the ardhamandapa is of Form II.b.1, the flanking niches are later insertions. This is the Form found at Vriddhachalam. There in the light of the style of the two surviving niche-images, no one would question that this Form was part of the original plan. If, as Balasubrahmanyam claims, the four small niches at Govindaputtur mar old inscriptions,[1] I shall still argue that the surviving fabric and devakoshtha images date from in or just before year 13 of Uttama Cola, while the niche-images were inserted in the reign of Rajaraja I. I will return to this point in the discussion of the temples at Karuntattangudi and Tiruppuram-biyam.

On the north bank of the River Kollidam, some three miles from Tirumalavadi and directly opposite Tiruvaiyaru, lies the village of GANDARADITTAM.[2] The village and the great 'tank' nearby are named after Gandaraditya. In the village are two temples, one dedicated to Vishnu and of Late Cola date, the other a

[1] I regret I have not been able to test this claim. [2] Balasubrahmanyam, 1971, p. 165.

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Sivaite shrine known as *Sokkanatha*. Balasubrahmanyam seems to regard the latter as modern. It contains several inscriptions (195–208 of 1928–9), two of which are relevant.[1] The more important (195 of 1928–9), dated in year 14 of a Parakesari, states that Sembarulan Uttama-niti otherwise known as Uttama Cola Muvendavelan erected the temple of Sivalokattu Mahadevan in Gandaraditta Caturvedimangalam and made a gift to it. The Parakesari is evidently Uttama Cola. The other inscription (196 of 1928–9) dated year 13 of a Parakesari, registers a sale of land. We may infer that the temple was built in or just before year 14 of Uttama Cola (A.D. 983). The fabric supports this date.

Both vimana and ardhamandapa are on a base of Form B.6.a but without the final minor cyma recta moulding between jagati and upana. Both kanthas are plain, but in a kudu of the base kapota is a miniature figure of a Nataraja in ananda-tandava, the dwarf and Ganga being absent. The first tala is of Form B.1. The south devakoshtha contains Dakshinamurti, the east Lingodbhava and the north Brahma. On the linga Brahma is represented as a flying figure but on the right side. The tympana are blank. The griva and sikhara are ruined but a stone figure of Nandi remains on the griva-platform. The ardhamandapa is of Form II.b. The south devakoshtha contains a dancing Ganesa (perhaps original), the north is empty. The tympana, again, are blank. The two-armed dvarapalas are original. All pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order with plain angular corbels. The fabric, less the tower, is in excellent condition. Like Tirukkuruhavur it retains the earlier scheme with only two images on the ardhamandapa.

I have already mentioned the village of KILAPPALUVUR some three miles east of the famous First Phase site of Kilaiyur, and have illustrated (Plate 14) a dvarapala in the compound of the *Tiru-Alandurai Mahadeva Temple*. This sculpture probably belonged to a First Phase temple of in or about year 10 of Parantaka I (A.D. 916). On the south wall of the ardhamandapa is an inscription (245 of 1926) of year 15 of a Parakesari which states that a Paluvettaraiyar chieftain named Maravan Kandan built the temple. Balasubrahmanyam[2] had argued that this Parakesari is Parantaka I. He now seems to accept my suggestion[3] that this Parakesari must be Uttama Cola[4] but still maintains that the present fabric must be dated in or before year 10 of Parantaka I since the latter's inscriptions (years, 10, 12, 19, 22, 26 and 37) are found on the temple. I hope it is clear from my illustrations that both architecture and sculpture are Third Phase in style. The temple was therefore built in or just before A.D. 984.

Both vimana and ardhamandapa are on a base of Form B.1.a, found only here in the Early Cola Period (Plate 61). The minor cyma recta mouldings with lotus petals on top of the pattika, dividing the kumuda from the vertical face of the jagati and, heavier, dividing the jagati from the upana, clearly mark this base as, to say the least, no earlier than Tiruvaduturai. The first tala is of Form B.2.b, again peculiar to this temple. This meagre version of the Form B.2.a is, I suggest, inconceivable in the First Phase. The south devakoshtha is

[1] The Government Epigraphist says these two inscriptions are on the two door jambs of the *north* entrance to the central shrine. Either this is a mistake for the door (east) of the ardhamandapa or he is referring to a door in the mandapa before the shrine whither presumably the jambs have been displaced. I regret I did not check this on my single visit to the temple.

[2] Balasubrahmanyam, 1963, pp. 28–33 and Plates 22–25; Balasubrahmanyam, 1971, pp. 30–8 and Plates 12–18.

[3] A discussion of the epigraphic evidence may be found in Barrett, pp. 11–13.

[4] Balasubrahmanyam, 1971, p. 37.

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occupied by Dakshinamurti, and the north by Brahma (Plate 63a). The west devakoshtha contains a Lingodbhava flanked by Brahma and Vishnu (Plate 62). On the linga Brahma is represented by his hamsa. The tympana are elaborate but rather small. They contain Nataraja in ananda-tandava (south), Narasimha (west) and Gajasura (north). The griva and sikhara and much of the fabric is covered with plaster and paint. The ardamandapa is of Form I.b except that the two centre pilasters flank not a devakoshtha but a large rectangular niche. Ganesa occupies the south niche (Plate 64) and Durga the north (Plate 63b). The two-armed dvarapalas are very large. Pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order with roll corbels, throated and with median band. Rearing vyalas occupy the palagais on the vimana.

Balasubrahmanyam's main objection to my dating the Tiru-Alandurai Mahadeva Temple to the Third Phase is the fact that there are only two images on the ardhamandapa. But we have already observed the retention of the older scheme on the temple at Tirukkuruhavur (in or just before year 13 of Uttama Cola), accepted as of the Third Phase by Balasubrahmanyam, and at Gandaradittam (in or just before year 14). An important factor in dating the temple is the appearance of the hamsa on the linga in the image of Lingodbhava. Balasubrahmanyam believes that from the beginning of the Early Cola Period the sculptor selected one of the three forms of representation—Brahma as flying figure, Brahma mounted on his hamsa or the hamsa alone—as the fancy took him.[1] I maintain there is a clear chronological pattern. Brahma is first represented as a flying figure. This type only is found in the First Phase up to Kilur. Thereafter it continues to be used alongside Brahma on the hamsa, which seems first to have been employed at Kilur (late First or Second Phase) and thereafter at Konerirajapuram, Anangur, Aduturai and other temples of the Third Phase. The first appearance of the hamsa alone on a securely dated temple is at Tirukkodikaval (Third Phase). I would therefore maintain that no representation of Brahma as the hamsa is earlier than the Third Phase, and that, since the date of Kilur is debatable, the Brahma on hamsa may not be earlier than the Second Phase.

The final closely datable monument of the reign of Uttama Cola is the *Apatsahayesvara Temple* at ADUTURAI (Tanjavur District).[2] An inscription of year 16 of Uttama Cola (357 of 1907: text in *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, No. 144) states that the temple was built by Sembiyan Mahadevi and that previous grants were engraved on the walls. The temple was therefore constructed in or just before the last year of the reign, A.D. 985.

The vimana is on a noble base of Form C.2.a, here used for the first time, while the ardhamandapa is on the cognate Form B.2.a (Plate 65). The spread of the great cyma recta of the jagati makes the vimana a little wider than the ardhamandapa. The first tala is of Form B.1. The south devakoshtha is occupied by a late Dakshinamurti and the north by Brahma. The west devakoshtha contains a Lingodbhava with small flanking figures of Brahma and Vishnu. On the linga Brahma is shown mounted on his hamsa. The tympana are fine and elaborate. The field of the south tympanum contains a Tripurantaka, of the west a Kalahara and the north

[1] Balasubrahmanyam, 1971, pp. 38–9. His chronology apart, there are in his list of temples under each type three errors of fact: the west devakoshtha at Nalur-Tirumeyjnanam contains a Vishnu not a Lingodbhava; at Tiruvilakkudi Brahma is represented as a flying figure not as hamsa; at Aduturai Brahma is represented not as a hamsa but mounted on the hamsa.

[2] Balasubrahmanyam, 1971, pp. 173–4 and Plates 174–80.

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a Nataraja in urdhva-tandava. The tower is of no interest. The ardhamandapa is of Form II.f, the recessed wall-spaces each containing a small panel of a figure adoring a linga. The images are, reading from the west, Agastya, Nataraja in ananda-tandava and Ganesa (south wall), and Bhikshatana, Gangadhara and Durga (north wall). The Nataraja has a Ganga on his right. Over the Nataraja and the Gangadhara are elaborate tympana containing Bhikshatana (south) and Gajasura (north). Over the flanking images are, instead of tympana, large rectangular slabs of excellent quality carved with Kirarjuna (over Agastya), the story of Candesvara (over Ganesa), Bhairava (over Bhikshatana) and Mahishasuramardini (over Durga). In the last slab the demon, armed with a great club, looks back at the goddess on her lion: a composition very close to the great Pallava panel at Mahabalipuram. The two-armed dvarapalas are original but worn. The roof is supported within by two pillars. All pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order with roll corbels, throated and with median band. All details are in only fair condition, but the temple was obviously a very fine monument. The bases are important, and the sculptures of Bhikshatana, Durga and Gangadhara among the best things of the Third Phase.

The eleven temples already described are all closely datable and spread evenly throughout the reign. One could not ask for more reliable documents to establish the style of the Third Phase. With their support it is possible to make several secure attributions.

The *Manavalesvara Temple* at TIRUVILAKKUDI,[1] otherwise known as Tiruvelvikkudi (Tanjavur District), is famous as the home of a Kalyanasundara, perhaps the greatest of all Third Phase bronze groups. Both vimana and ardhamandapa are on a base of Form B.4.b, that is, while following such First Phase bases as Srinivasanallur, it adds minor cyma recta mouldings between kumuda and jagati and between jagati and upana. It is worth mentioning, to emphasize its 'lateness', that this is the form of base used on the great Rajarajesvara Temple at Tanjavur, completed in A.D. 1010. The first tala is of Form B.1. The south deva-koshtha is occupied by Dakshinamurti, the west by a Lingodbhava with flanking Brahma and Vishnu, and the north by a late Brahma. On the linga Brahma is represented as a flying figure. On the west wall flanking the frontispiece are set in niches small images of Ardhanari (north) and Harihara (south). The second tala and the round griva and sikhara are covered with painted stucco. The ardhamandapa is of Form II.b.1, the recessed wall-spaces containing a grille of three pierced lozenges set within split-pilasters and lintel. The side-walls are organized as at Vriddhachalam and Govindaputtur to accommodate six images, that is, the central devakoshtha is flanked by (small) rectangular niches. The images are, reading from the west, Agastya, Nataraja in ananda-tandava and Ganesa (south side) and the story of Candesvara, a late Durga, and Bhik-shatana (north side). The Nataraja has Ganga on his right but the snake depends from his left wrist. The tympanum over the Nataraja contains a fine Kalyanasundara. The two-armed devarapalas are original. The roof is supported within by two rows of two pillars. All pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order with roll corbels, throated and with median band. All the sculptures are in the grey granite of the fabric itself, except the Nataraja and Agastya which are in a reddish stone. It may be thought that these two images are not

[1] Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, pp. 167–70; Balasubrahmanyam, 1971, Plates 238–49. Late bronzes are illustrated on Plates 242 and 249.

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original: they are, however, in Third Phase style. This is the first time we have met with small niches containing deities on the first tala of the vimana. Both images are in Third Phase style.

The inscriptions give no support for any close dating of the temple. We must therefore use the fabric and sculptures, clearly of the Third Phase, to interpret the inscriptions. On the walls of the vimana are inscriptions ranging from year 3 (116 of 1926) to year 16 (134 of 1926) of a Rajakesari, and an inscription of year 6 (128 of 1926) of an unnamed king, perhaps Uttama Cola, which states that Sembiyan Mahadevi herself gave a silver pitcher to the temple. I suggest therefore that of the Rajakesari inscriptions at least those with high regnal years (15 and 16) may be attributed to Parantaka II (A.D. 956–73). The temple may then be dated about A.D. 970. The building of this temple was a communal effort. Several inscriptions, unfortunately without regnal years or titles, give the names of guilds or individuals who made donations of images, such as the Dakshinamurti (129 of 1926), the now lost Durga (110 of 1926) and a dvarapala (149 of 1926). One individual donated a door-jamb (150 of 1926) and three others three stones near a dvarapala (148 of 1926). A quarter of the structure was paid for by two mercantile guilds (131 of 1926).

The *Amravanesvara Temple* at KUHUR[1] (Tanjavur District) is also clearly of the Third Phase. Both vimana and ardhamandapa are on a base of Form B.2.a. The first tala is of Form D.1. The south devakoshtha contains a late Dakshinamurti (the original supporting figures remain) and the north a Brahma. The west devakoshtha is empty but contained a Lingodbhava since the flanking Brahma and Vishnu remain. The tympana are elaborate but blurred. The second tala, round griva and sikhara are of brick and stucco. The ardhamandapa is of Form II.f, the recessed wall-spaces being plain except for a single lozenge piercing on the south. The images are, reading from the west, Agastya, Nataraja in ananda-tandava and Ganesa (south wall), and an empty devakoshtha, Durga (Plate 66) and Bhikshatana (north wall). There is a Ganga to the Nataraja's right and the snake depends from his left wrist. The tympana are elaborate but blurred, though there is a good Kalyanasundara in the field above Ganesa. The dvarapalas are four-armed, poor and not original. The pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order with roll corbels, throated and with decorated median band.

Again the inscriptions need support from the fabric. An inscription of year 9 of a Parakesari (292 of 1917) gives the name of the temple as Adityesvara. This suggests there was a temple on the site in the First Phase. The earliest incontrovertible inscription is of year 2 (287 of 1917) of Uttama Cola, while an inscription of year 7 (286 of 1917) of Rajaraja I refers to donations made in years 7, 8 and 9 of a Parakesari who is probably Uttama Cola. The temple may be dated about A.D. 970.

The *Nagesvara Temple* at TIRUNAGESVARAM[2] (Tanjavur District) also belongs to the Third Phase. Both vimana and ardhamandapa are on a base of Form B.2.a. The first tala is of Form B.1. The south devakoshtha contains a late Dakshinamurti (the original is in the verandah of the temple) and the north a Brahma. The west devakoshtha contains a Lingodbhava with flanking Brahma and Vishnu. The Brahma on the linga is blurred but probably is in the form of a hamsa. The ardhamandapa is of Form II.f, the recessed wall-spaces being plain except for a single square piercing. The images are, reading from the west, Agastya,

[1] Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, pp. 192–3. [2] Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, pp. 176–7.

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Nataraja in ananda-tandava and Ganesa (south wall) and Ardhanari, Durga and Bhikshatana (north wall). The Nataraja wears the snake on the right wrist. The two-armed dvarapalas are original. Pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order with roll corbels, throated and with median band. On the fabric all details are blurred and the devakoshtha figures and their tympana are in poor condition.

One inscription only is helpful for dating the temple. In a fragmentary inscription without regnal year or title (219 of 1911) there is a reference to the construction of the temple and mention is made of Uttama Cola, his mother, his two queens and Gandaraditya. It is a fair assumption that the present fabric was built by Uttama Cola or Sembiyan Mahadevi in honour of Gandaraditya. There was however an earlier temple on the site. An inscription of year 9 of a Rajakesari (215 of 1911), who is perhaps Parantaka II, refers to a Bana queen who was the daughter of Arinjaya. More important is a large and splendid First Phase standing Durga which survives within the compound.

One of the most interesting and puzzling of all Third Phase monuments is the *Vasishthesvara Temple* at KARUNTATTANGUDI, now a suburb of Tanjavur.[1] The base of both vimana and ardhamandapa is concealed up to the kantha but I suspect it is of the Form B.2.a: the minor cyma recta mouldings above and below the pattika are visible. The first tala is of Form B.2, first found at Tiruvaduturai. Here however the panjaras are modest things. Their base mouldings penetrate only to the pattika and the arched window reaches up only to the valabhi. The south devakoshtha is occupied by Dakshinamurti with supporters, the west by Lingodbhava with large supporters, set close and at right angles to the linga, and the north by Brahma. On the linga Brahma is represented as a hamsa. The tympana are merely blocked out. We come now to a new feature. On all three sides between the panjaras and the frontispiece are set images direct in the walls. They are, reading from the south-east, Ganesa, Agastya, Ardhanari, Kankala, Gangadhara and Vinadhara Dakshinamurti. The round griva and sikhara are of brick and stucco. The ardhamandapa is an exact replica of the Form B.2 of the vimana, except, of course, for the end-wall, and is separated from it by recessed wall-spaces, in which are set Bhikshatana with a *rishipatni* (south) and Kalahara (north). The two devakoshthas contain Nataraja in ananda-tandava (south) and Durga (north). There is no Ganga on the Nataraja and the snake depends from the left wrist. The images are, reading from the west, Appar and Sambandar (south) and Karttikeya and Bhikshatana (north). On the end-wall are two dvarapalas, original but heavily re-cut. Pillars and pilasters are in full Early Cola order with roll corbels, throated and with median band. On the engaged pillars of the panjaras the torus of the padma is cut with munai.

I have deliberately excluded the ardhamandapa from my list of forms since it is a repeat, apart from the end wall, of the vimana. This peculiarity is not, I believe, found elsewhere in the Early Cola Period. Further, the temple walls now accommodate not only the five main images in devakoshthas but no less than twelve smaller images. I have not found this scheme elsewhere. On the *Sakshisvara Temple* at Tiruppurambiyam,

[1] P. R. Srinivasan, 'Important works of art of the Early Chola Period from near Tanjore', *Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India*, 1956–7. Balasubrahmanyam, 1971, pp. 183–5 and Plates 194–202.

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however, we shall find eight subsidiary images and inscriptional evidence that eight were intended. They are all accommodated on the ardhamandapa and include the images at Karuntattangudi less the two saints Sambandar and Appar and Karttikeya. I believe the two saints to belong to the Late Cola Period together with the Bhikshatana and rishipatni in the south recessed wall-space. (There is already a Third Phase Bhikshatana on the north wall of the ardhamandapa.) There is one point which suggests the subsidiary images are not all in their original positions. The Vinadhara Dakshinamurti, which should naturally be on a south wall of the temple, is on the north wall of the vimana. Balasubrahmanyam claims that the placing of the subsidiary images has marred the inscriptions. However that may be, the style of the subsidiary images and of the images in the main devakoshthas is, though uneven, Third Phase.

The earliest incontrovertible inscription is of year 17 of Rajaraja I (46 of 1897), in which the King's elder sister Kundavai is mentioned. There are two inscriptions of years 2 (49 of 1897) and 10 (42 of 1897) of a Parakesari. In the latter inscription the donor is one Madurantakan Kandaradittam, possibly a son of Uttama Cola and certainly a trusted official of Rajaraja I. A third inscription of year 10 of a Parakesari (51 of 1897), on the end-wall of the ardhamandapa to the right of the door, records the setting up of two dvarapalas. I believe that the present fabric of the temple dates from about year 10 of Uttama Cola (A.D. 979); that the main devakoshtha figures are contemporary with the fabric; and that the subsidiary deities, less the three I have mentioned, are perhaps a little later, in the reign of Rajaraja I. It is perhaps not irrelevant to add that on the two great 'cathedrals' of the first half of the eleventh century A.D., the Rajarajesvara Temple at Tanjavur and the Rajarajesvara Temple at Gangaikonda-colapuram, the main iconographic scheme is accommodated on the vimana.

Karuntattangudi leads directly to a discussion of the *Jnanaparamesvara Temple* at NALUR-TIRUMEY-JNANAM (Tirumayanam) which Balasubrahmanyam[1] has dated in or before year 2 of Aditya I. (I should emphasize that the two late images illustrated in Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, Plate 86, do not belong to the temple.) Both vimana and ardhamandapa are on a base of Form B.2, found, I believe, only on this temple. Some blocks of the wall-kantha are carved with miniatures. It is strange that an exact equivalent of Form A.2 but with the rounded kumuda is not found in the Early Cola Period. Instead we find only the Second and Third Phase version with multiple minor cyma recta mouldings (Form B.2.a) and Form B.2 at Nalur-Tirumeyjnanam which has a solitary minor cyma recta moulding dividing the kumuda from the jagati. The first tala is of Form B.2 with the modest panjaras of Karunttatangudi. Indeed, architecturally, the vimanas of the two temples are virtually identical. The south devakoshtha is occupied by Dakshinamurti, the west by Vishnu and the north by Brahma. The tympana are merely blocked out. The round griva and sikhara are probably brick and stucco. The ardhamandapa is of Form I.b. The south devakoshtha is occupied by Ganesa and the north by Durga. The tympana are merely blocked out. All five devakoshtha figures are in full Third Phase style. On the south wall of the ardhamandapa to the east of the devakoshtha is a small Bhikshatana in a plain rectangular niche. To the west of the devakoshtha, just above the wall-kantha and surmounted by a

[1] Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, pp. 186–8 and 232–3.

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miniature kapota are: left, a small standing male figure adoring a linga; and, right, a small Nataraja in ananda-tandava. The snake depends from the left wrist and there is no Ganga. The dvarapalas, original I believe, are four-armed. All pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order with roll corbels, throated and with median band.

Balasubrahmanyam and G. V. Srinivasa Rao believe that an inscription of year 2 of a Rajakesari (321 of 1910: text in *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, No. 90) belongs to Aditya I. Balasubrahmanyam also believes that the present fabric belongs to that date. If this inscription must belong to Aditya I and if, on the basis of palaeography, it must be contemporary with that king, I shall argue that it was salvaged from a First Phase temple and inserted in the present fabric. The latter is virtually identical, as regards the first tala, with Karuntat-tangudi, and, I believe, stands on a form of base which seems transitional to Form B.2.a. The devakoshtha figures are all of the Third Phase. Dvarapalas are rarely later insertions: those at Nalur-Tirumeyjnanam are four-armed. This is the first time we have met this feature in Colamandalam: it will become a commonplace in the next reign. The temple is then of the Third Phase, either quite late in the reign of Uttama Cola or, perhaps, early in that of Rajaraja I. Four other Rajakesari inscriptions on the temple are dated in years 2, 7, 12 and 15. The one of year 7 records a tax-free offering by the assembly of the village of Palaya Sembiyan Mahadevi Caturvedimangalam, a Brahman settlement. The village being named after the queen suggests that this Rajakesari is Rajaraja I. The other inscriptions may belong to the same king.

Another fabric attributed to the reign of Aditya I is the *Matsyapurisvara Temple* at KOYIL TEVARAYAN-PETTAI (Tanjavur District).[1] Both vimana and ardhamandapa are on a base of Form A.2. The first tala is of the rare or unique Form B.2.a, of which the Third Phase temple at Kilappaluvur is a simpler version. The devakoshthas contain Dakshinamurti (south), Vishnu (west) and Brahma (north). The tympana are merely plain demilunes. The second tala and round griva and sikhara are covered with stucco. The ardhamandapa is of Form I.b. The south devakoshtha contains Ganesa and the north Durga. All pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order with roll corbels, throated and with median band. The five devakoshtha figures are in early Third Phase style while the elevation suggests a comparison with Kilappaluvur and Nalur-Tirumey-jnanam. I would place the present fabric early in the reign of Uttama Cola. The rich series of inscriptions is not helpful. The earliest are of years 37 and 38 of Parantaka I. One of his year 38 (270 of 1923) mentions a gift in year 17 of a Rajakesari who is presumably Aditya I. Two inscriptions of years 7 and 14 of a Rajakesari (234 and 266 of 1923) may probably, and one of year 6 (232 of 1923) almost certainly, be attributed to Sundara Cola. Five inscriptions belong to Aditya II. An interesting inscription (250 of 1923) of year 9 of a Parakesari, who must be Uttama Cola, records a grant by Sembiyan Mahadevi for the sacred bath of the deity and for other offices of worship. She makes further gifts in years 9 (262 of 1923) and 12 (263 of 1923) of Rajaraja I. All this tells us is that there was a temple on the site since the reign of Aditya I and that it was continuously endowed. In the light of the fabric, however, it is fair to speculate that Sembiyan Mahadevi's splendid grant in year 9 of Uttama Cola immediately followed the construction of the present temple.

[1] Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, pp. 179–83; Balasubrahmanyam, 1971, p. 218 and Plates 1–6 of the Supplement.

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A similar problem is presented by the *Vishamangalesvara Temple* at TURAIYUR (Tiruchirappalli District) which lies about eight miles from Tiruchirappalli on the road to Lalgudy.[1] Balasubrahmanyam attributes this temple also to Aditya I. The evidence of the inscriptions is nugatory: the earliest (158 of 1937–8) is of year 5 of a Rajakesari who might be Gandaraditya. Both vimana and ardhamandapa are on a base of Form A.2. The wall-kantha is carved with miniatures, one of which is a Nataraja in ananda-tandava, the dwarf and Ganga being absent. The first tala is of Form B.2 with the pillars of the panjaras resting on the wall-kantha, while the large kudus reach into the kapota and form part of it. The devakoshthas are occupied by Vanadhara Dakshinamurti (south), Siva and Parvati or Alinganamurti (west) and Brahma (north). The octagonal griva and sikhara are late and seem to be of brick and stucco. The ardhamandapa is of Form I.b. The south devakoshtha contains a seated Sarasvati and the north a Durga. All pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order with roll corbels, throated and with median band. Of the images the Sarasvati, claimed by Balasubrahmanyam as the earliest representation of that deity on a Cola temple, is clearly not earlier than the eleventh century A.D. The Alinganamurti, whether or not it originally occupied this uncanonical position in the west devakoshtha of the vimana, surely dates from the Third Phase. Balasubrahmanyam compares the Vinadhara Dakshinamurti with the fine First Phase image in Lalgudy, but its present condition overlaid with plaster hardly admits of an opinion. Here again I would suggest a date in the Third Phase for the fabric of the temple and accept the Brahma and Durga as the original images.

Balasubrahmanyam believes that the *Sakshisvara Temple* at TIRUPPURAMBIYAM (Tanjavur District) also belongs to the reign of Aditya I.[2] Both vimana and ardhamandapa are on a base of Form B.6.a, found here, at Gandaradittam, and on two temples, discussed in the following chapter, at Dadapuram of year 21 of Rajaraja I. The blocks of the wall-kantha, which is twice the width of the kantha, are carved with excellent miniatures. Many of the recessed spaces of the wall-kantha are carved with full-lotus discs, a 'late' feature. The first tala is of Form D.2 (Plate 67). The windows of the panjaras reach into the kapota and the bases penetrate the main base to the upana. The bases of the panjaras are of Form B.5, already found at Vriddhachalam. They are supported below by panels of two Atlas figures, dwarfs or flying figures, some with animal heads. The combination of the two forms gives Tiruppurambiyam perhaps the richest of all Third Phase bases. It makes an interesting contrast with Pullamangai (Form B.6), elegant and feminine but lacking the strength and formal dignity of the First Phase. The south devakoshtha is occupied by a late Dakshinamurti and the north by a Brahma, below whom is a fine pranala in the form of an elephant's head, now broken and partially concealed by adjacent structures. The west devakoshtha is occupied by Lingodbhava with no supporters and with Brahma represented on the linga as a flying figure. The tympana are small and poor. The griva and sikhara are brick and stucco. The ardhamandapa is of the unique Form II.g, the recessed wall-spaces occupied by a grille of four lozenge piercings within split-pilasters and lintel (Plate 68). Of the Nataraja in anandatandava occupying the south devakoshtha only the torso and dwarf remain: there is no Ganga. The north devakoshtha is occupied by Durga. Both tympana are elaborate but blurred. On either side of the panjaras, whose windows

[1] Balasubrahmanyam, 1971, pp. 218–9 and Plates 7–15 of the Supplement. [2] Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, pp. 184–6 and Plate 85.

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reach only to the uttira, are cut rectangular niches. They contain, reading from the west, Agastya, Ganesa, Kankala and Vinadhara Dakshinamurti (south) and Kalahara, Ardhanari, Gangadhara and Bhikshatana (north). The dvarapalas are four-armed. The roof is supported within by two rows of two pillars each. All pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order with roll corbels, throated and with median band. On the palagais of the vimana are rearing vyalas.

The fabric and the devakoshtha images, less the Dakshinamurti, are clearly of the Third Phase. An inscription of year 10 of Rajaraja I (72 of 1897) records that Vanavan Muvendavelan set up images of Ashtaparivaram in the temple. This is evidently a reference to the eight subsidiary deities in the niches. It seems clear however from the rough way some sections of the wall-kantha are cut away that these deities were inserted into an already existing fabric. 'Earlier' inscriptions do not help a close dating. In year 3 of a Rajakesari (338 of 1927) who is certainly Rajaraja I, the mother of Uttama Cola presented a silver pot on behalf of her son. There is an inscription (69 of 1897) of year 4 of Aditya II (A.D. 968) and another (75 of 1897) of year 14 of Parantaka II (A.D. 970). Inscriptions of Parantaka I range from year 12 to year 25. Using the evidence of the fabric and the five deities of the devakoshthas, less the late Dakshinamurti, I would date the temple to the second half of the reign of Uttama Cola.

Before leaving Tiruppurambiyam I would again like to stress one general point regarding those temples where the ardhamandapa is of Form II.b.I. If one wishes to use the evidence of Tiruppurambiyam and ignore that of Vriddhachalam, one may argue that the niche-images were never intended as part of the original iconographic scheme. One would then have to accept that Govindaputtur, Tiruvilakkudi and, of course, Karuntattangudi and Tiruppurambiyam illustrate a scheme in which there were originally two devakoshtha images on the ardhamandapa, a Durga on the north wall and a Nataraja on the south. But I am on secure ground in maintaining that on a closely datable temple a Nataraja does not occupy a devakoshtha before Konerirajapuram or a central devakoshtha before the temple at Sembiyan Mahadevi. It follows that the fabrics of the above-mentioned temples are all of the Third Phase, unless one wishes to argue that the Natarajas were also later insertions.

A key monument for the Third Phase and, one imagines, the finest temple since Punjai, would probably have been the *Mayuranathasvami Temple* at MAYAVARAM (Tanjavur District). The temple was destroyed in the twenties of this century, but fortunately the complete set of nine devakoshtha images and the huge two-armed dvarapalas were inserted into the new fabric, presumably in the positions they occupied on the old temple.[1] On the vimana Dakshinamurti occupies the south devakoshtha (Plate 69) and Brahma the north. In the west is not a Lingodbhava but a standing Siva. On the south wall of the ardhamandapa are, reading from the west, Alingana, Nataraja in ananda-tandava (Plate 70) and Ganesa; and, on the north wall, Gangadhara, Durga and Bhikshatana. The Nataraja has Ganga on his right, while the snake depends from his left wrist. The Durga is flanked by two kneeling figures, one of whom is immolating himself. Each image is a masterpiece, superior as a group to any other temple of the Third Phase. Unfortunately, none of the

[1] Balasubrahmanyam, 1971, p. 197 and Plate 277.

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inscriptions (371–3 of 1907 and 300–1 of 1911) copied before the renovation helps to date the temple. Students of Early Cola bronzes, however, will appreciate that these stone images are very closely related to a famous group of Third Phase bronzes at Konerirajapuram, a Vrsvahana, Tripurantaka, Parvati and Ganesa, which is closely datable to 969–77 A.D.[1] The Mayuranathasvami Temple itself unfortunately retains only a late bronze Nataraja and consort. The stone sculptures may be dated early in the Third Phase.

The reign of Uttama Cola is thus fully documented with eleven securely dated temples and seven good and some fair attributions, which firmly establish the style of both architecture and sculpture for the first part of the Third Phase. All these temples are in or close to Colamandalam, the northernmost monument being Vriddhachalam in South Arcot District. Outside Colamandalam the evidence is meagre except for one temple deep in Tondaimandalam.

The village of TIRUVALLAM[2] (North Arcot District) lies on the bank of the River Niva just before it joins the River Palaru. Both vimana and ardhamandapa of the *Bilvanathesvara Temple* are on a base of Form A.2. The first tala is of Form A.1. The south devakoshtha is occupied by Dakshinamurti (Plate 71), the west by Vishnu (Plate 72) and the north by Brahma (Plate 73). The tympana are coarse but good, and contain a dancing figure with orchestra (above Vishnu), Bhikshatana with *rishi-patnis* (above Brahma), while that above Dakshinamurti is concealed. The octagonal griva and sikhara are of stone, now covered with the painted stucco of a 'renovation' made in 1964. The devakoshthas of the griva contain Vinadhara on Nandi (south) (Plate 74a), Vishnu (west), Brahma (north) and Indra (east). Between the griva devakoshthas are seated splendid ganas or dwarfs, set in the modern concrete roof (Plate 74b). The ardhamandapa is a very small version of Form I.b, the side-walls only long enough to accommodate a devakoshtha without flanking pilasters and the end engaged pillar. The south devakoshtha contains Ganesa and the north Durga, who stands on a pedestal with no severed buffalo's head. In the tympanum above Durga is Ravana shaking Mount Kailasa. The dvarapalas are four-armed and magnificent. The pillars and pilasters are fully articulated but coarse in detail with plain angular corbels. In the compound are a seated Vishnu and Brahmani in the same style as the temple sculptures, and a Candesvara in the style of Takkolam.

Tiruvallam was the ancient capital of the Banas and the temple is rich with inscriptions of the late ninth and early tenth centuries A.D. All except one are copies, re-engraved on the fabric of the present temple. They make it clear that there was an earlier temple on the site and this is supported by the early Candesvara. Unfortunately there is no secure evidence from the other inscriptions for the date of the present fabric. There is however one inscription which is helpful. In year 7 of Rajaraja I (*South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, No. 49), Madurantakan Kandaradittan, whom we have already met at Karuntattangudi, visited the temple to worship on the day of the lunar eclipse, caused the deity to be bathed with 1,000 pots of water and called for a detailed statement of the temple's financial affairs. Balasubrahmanyam has rightly observed that the temple would not have been consecrated on such an inauspicious day. He suggests that the old Bana temple was probably rebuilt during the reign of Uttama Cola. In the light of such evidence as we have of the sculptural style in Tondaimandalam in the reign of Rajaraja I, I am inclined to agree. However, if Tiruvallam is typical, it is

[1] Barrett, Plates 1–9. [2] Balasubrahmanyam, 1966, pp. 215–20 and Plates 97–101.

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interesting to observe that Tondaimandalam, at least before its final incorporation by Rajaraja I within a highly centralized empire, seems to have shared in none of the architectural developments of Colamandalam either in plan or detail. Architecturally Tiruvallam is no advance on Takkolam, whose sculpture it repeats in a gentler, softer version.

The style of Tiruvallam has some bearing on the date of a temple, further south but still in Tondaimandalam, the *Tiruttandisvara* at VELACHCHERI[1] (Chingleput District). The temple is small and simple. Both vimana and ardhamandapa are on a base of Form A.1. The first tala is of Form A.1. The south devakoshtha is occupied by Dakshinamurti, the west by Lingodbhava and the north by Brahma. The Lingodbhava is unusual in that both Brahma and Vishnu, as supporters, are carved on the base of the linga. Brahma above is represented as a hamsa. The ardhamandapa is of Form I.b, the south devakoshtha occupied by Ganesa and the north by Durga, standing directly on her pedestal. The dvarapalas are four-armed. The evidence of the inscriptions is meagre and inconclusive. Two inscriptions dated in years 5 (315 of 1911) and 7 (306 of 1911) of a Madiraikonda Rajakesari may be attributed to Gandaraditya or, more likely, to Parantaka II Sundara Cola. If the latter attribution is accepted, the temple may date from about A.D. 961. The sculptures, however, are in full Third Phase style and the fact that on the linga Brahma is represented as a hamsa should carry some weight. I prefer to place the temple well within the reign of Uttama Cola.

Before leaving the reign of Uttama Cola I would like to discuss a single temple in the region between Colamandalam and Tondaimandalam, which presents an interesting problem. The village of Kattumanan-argudi lies about eight miles from the famous Cola capital of Gangaikondacolapuram in South Arcot District. It was a creation of Parantaka I near to his great irrigation tank now known as the Viranam Eri. In the suburb of UDAIYARGUDI is the *Anantesvarasvami Temple*.[2] Both vimana and ardhamandapa are on a base of Form A.2 but with a fairly strong cyma recta moulding between the jagati and the upana. The first tala is of Form B.3. The south devakoshtha contains a late Dakshinamurti and the west a late Lingodbhava. The figure in the north devakoshtha is cut away. The tympana are blank or poor. An interesting feature, not found elsewhere, is that on the vimana flying hamsas are carved in high relief near the base of all engaged pillars and pilasters. The round griva and sikhara are covered with stucco. The ardhamandapa is of Form II.b.1, the recessed wall-spaces occupied by a grille of three lozenges set in a devakoshtha. The south devakoshtha is empty and the north occupied by a late Durga. All four niches are empty but a Third Phase Bhikshatana survives in the compound. Moreover on the south wall near the west niche is a gana beating a drum, while to the west of the devakoshtha are two ganas. Presumably, the niche contained a Nataraja and the devakoshtha a Ganesa. The tympana of the two devakoshthas are blank. The dvarapalas are missing. The ardhamandapa is supported within by two rows of three pillars, the beams having dwarfs as Atlas figures. All pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order, with roll corbels, throated and with median band.

[1] Balasubrahmanyam, 1971, pp. pp. 146–8 and Plates 129–34.
[2] Balasubrahmanyam, 1971, pp. 72–8 and Plates 77–80. The bronze Sambandar (Plate 80) does not of course belong to the Early Cola Period.

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THE THIRD OR SEMBIYAN MAHADEVI PHASE

The earliest incontrovertible inscriptions on the temple are of Parantaka I ranging from year 33 to year 38. Balasubrahmanyam believes that the temple was built some time before year 33 and 'preserves at least the main character of the ancient Parantaka foundation'. But there are only two possible interpretations of the present fabric. The original Form of the ardhamandapa was either II.b but with the recessed wall-spaces occupied by a grille within a devakoshtha, or II.b.1. Now we have met with only one example of the former, Tirukkuruhavur (in or just before year 13 of Uttama Cola) and one incontestable example of the latter, Vriddhachalam (year 12 of Uttama Cola). Whichever of the two interpretations is found acceptable, I maintain that the present fabric of the temple belongs to the very beginning of the Third Phase. I find some support for this assertion in two inscriptions (555 and 557 of 1920), both dated in year 2 of Aditya II (Parakesari who took the head of Vira Pandya).[1] The first records that Araiyan Geyavidangan of the Danatonga-terinja-kaikkolar (a regiment named after Parantaka I) made a gift to provide for an annual supply of a pair of cloths to the image of Kuttaperumal (Nataraja), 'who is pleased to dance on the south side of the stone temple'. The donor is also stated to have set up shrines (*koyil*) to Kuttar (Nataraja), Ganapatiyar (Ganesa) and Pichchadevar (Bhikshatana). The second inscription records that a donor of the same name but of a different regiment also made a gift to provide for the supply of a pair of cloths to the Kuttaperumal of the stone temple. These are, I believe, the first references to the *stone temple*. I have already shown that there are indications that on the south wall of the ardhamandapa the west niche was occupied by a Nataraja and the devakoshtha by Ganesa. I would further suggest that the east niche was occupied by the surviving Bhikshatana. I would like to think that the three 'shrines' set up by Araiyan Geyavidangan were the devakoshtha and the two niches on the south wall of the ardhamandapa. To the objection that the term 'koyil' would not be used in a general sense as equivalent to devakoshtha or niche, I would answer that the term 'devakoshtha' is not found in surviving inscriptions until the twelfth century A.D. Further, if 'koyil' must be taken to mean a separate shrine, I must emphasize that there is no other evidence in our period for a separate shrine for a Bhikshatana or, indeed, for a Nataraja, whether the latter be in stone or bronze. Ganesa, of course, may have a separate shrine as one of the parivaradevatas. I think it is fair to assume that Araiyan Geyavidangan donated the three stone images on the south wall of the ardhamandapa in or just before year 2 of Aditya II and that the present fabric dates from just before A.D. 965. The original Form of the ardhamandapa, since one of the donated images occupied a devakoshtha, was therefore II.b.1, as at Vriddhachalam.

If the above argument is found acceptable, Udaiyargudi exhibits the full iconographic scheme of six images on the ardhamandapa at least four years before Konerirajapuram, using Form II.b.1 and not the more developed Form II.f of the latter temple. It is hardly necessary to repeat that I see the Second Phase as essentially a period of transition and the dates I propose to mark its beginning and end are purely formal. For the student of Early Cola bronzes Udaiyargudi will replace Konerirajapuram as the earliest appearance of a Nataraja on the wall of the ardhamandapa, though not yet in a devakoshtha. It is highly probable that the Nataraja was in ananda-tandava.

[1] I am assuming that 557 of 1920 dated in year 2 of Parakesari who took the head of Vira Pandya (Aditya II) carries with it 555 of 1920 dated in year 2 of Parakesari.

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THE THIRD OR SEMBIYAN MAHADEVI PHASE

The Reign of Rajaraja I (A.D. 985–1014)

For the first half of the new reign, up to A.D. 1001, Sembiyan Mahadevi continued her glorious role as patron and builder. Thereafter the evidence is less full for Colamandalam. Presumably the major effort of the imperial resources was concentrated upon the Rajarajesvara Temple at Tanjavur which was not completed until about A.D. 1010. This vast undertaking must have occupied almost every mason, sculptor, painter and engraver in the southern part of the kingdom for a period of some six years.

I will deal first with the monuments in Colamandalam where the style of the Third Phase will be seen to continue with little change.

The inscriptions on the *Siddhanathasvami Temple* at TIRUNARAIYUR[1] (Tanjavur District) are not as directly informative as those on the Third Phase temples described in the last chapter but, taken together with the style of architecture and sculpture, are conclusive. An incomplete inscription, the beginning of which is built-in, mentions details of a gift of land by Sembiyan Mahadevi (159 of 1908: *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, No. 149). A second inscription (156 of 1908) mentions further gifts by the queen of silver vessels and a fly-switch with gold handle: it is dated in year 2 of a Rajakesari who must be Rajaraja I. There are no earlier inscriptions and it is fair to assume that the temple was built, perhaps by Sembiyan Mahadevi, in or just before A.D. 986.

Both vimana and ardhamandapa are on a base of Form B.4.a, a First Phase Form, which we have not found hitherto in the Third Phase. The first tala however is of Form B.1 and, to give emphasis to the frontis-pieces, Form C.4. is employed on their bases. The south devakoshtha is occupied by a fine Dakshinamurti and the north by Brahma (Plate 75). In the east devakoshtha is a Lingodbhava with small supporting figures of Brahma and Vishnu. On the linga Brahma is represented as a hamsa. The south tympanum is obscured but the north contains a Krishna dancing on Kaliya and the east a Gajasura. The griva and sikhara are plastered. The ardhamandapa is of Form II.f, with the recessed wall-spaces left plain. The images are, reading from the east, Agastya, with two small supporters, Nataraja in ananda-tandava and Ganesa (south wall), and Bhik-shatana (Plate 76), Ardhanari and Durga (north wall). The Nataraja wears Ganga in his hair on his right:

[1] Balasubrahmanyam, 1971, pp. 178–9.

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his left leg is a reconstruction in stucco. The tympana on the south wall are blurred. On the north wall they contain two monkeys boxing (above Bhikshatana), worship of linga (above Ardhanari) and Mahishasuramardini (above Durga). The two-armed dvarapalas are not remarkable but probably original. All pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order with roll corbels, throated and with median band.

I will make only a brief reference to the *Arulvallanayakesvara Temple* at TIRUMANANJERI (Tanjavur District).[1] My notes are defective and I regret I can add nothing to Balasubrahmanyam's short description. An inscription (21 of 1914) of year 2 of a Rajakesari, certainly Rajaraja I, mentions that Sembiyan Mahadevi made a gift of land to the stone temple. Another inscription (9 of 1914) of year 6 of a Rajakesari, certainly Rajaraja I, states that at the command of Sembiyan Mahadevi, Aruran Kamban otherwise known as Tirukkarrali Pichchan made a gift of gold to the temple. A third inscription (10 of 1914), undated, states that Sembiyan Mahadevi together with Kandadai Nambi and Pichchan Aruran Kamban who built the stone temple, fixed in grain various fees and expenses. The temple was, it is fair to assume, constructed in or before year 6 of Rajaraja I (A.D. 990) and possibly in or before year 2 (A.D. 986). Balasubrahmanyam considers two inscriptions of year 4 of a Parakesari (11 and 14 of 1914) to belong to Parantaka I, and accepting the devakoshtha figures as of the reign of Uttama Cola believes that the building of the temple began about year 4 of Parantaka I and was completed in the reign of Uttama Cola. I feel confident that the architectural fabric, like the nine devakoshtha images, dates from the early part of the reign of Rajaraja I. A strange variation on the scheme of images on the ardhamandapa is the introduction of a Nagaraja (or Vishnu) which nevertheless looks original.

The *Achalesvara Shrine*[2] in the famous temple of TIRUVARUR (Tanjavur District) is more closely dated. An inscription of year 2 of a Rajakesari, certainly Rajaraja I, mentions a gift of silver vessels for the benefit of Uttama Cola evidently deceased (570 of 1904). A second inscription (571 of 1904) refers to the building of the stone shrine by Sembiyan Mahadevi, her dedication of two images, and a gift of money for daily requirements and repairs. It is dated year 7 of Rajaraja I. The shrine was therefore built in or just before A.D. 991.

Both vimana and ardhmanadapa are on a base of Form B.2.a, first used at Tiruvaduturai and subsequently at Sembiyan Mahadevi, the ardhamandapa of Aduturai, Kuhur and Tirunagesvaram. The first tala is of Form E.1 which we have not met since the First Phase temple at Tiruppalanam (Plate 77). Male adorers, one of whom is missing, occupy devakoshthas in the recessed wall-sections. The south devakoshtha is occupied by a late Dakshinamurti and the north by Brahma. In the east devakoshtha is a Lingodbhava with small supporters. Brahma is represented on the linga as a hamsa. The tympana are blurred. The second and third talas, round griva and sikhara are covered with painted stucco. The ardhamandapa is of the rare Form I.d, that is, while three full devakoshthas occupy the whole length of the walls, the ardhamandapa abuts directly on to the vimana. The images are, reading from the east, Agastya, Nataraja in ananda-tandava and Ganesa

[1] Balasubrahmanyam, 1971, pp. 188–90 and Plates 224–37. The bronzes illustrated in Plates 233–7 are Late Cola, especially the Kalyanasundara Group (Plate 234) which is unaccountably attributed to the Third Phase and compared with the Tiruvilakkudi masterpiece.

[2] Balasubrahmanyam, 1971, pp. 195–7 and Plates 262–76.

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(south wall) and Bhikshatana, Durga (Plate 78) and Ardhanari (north wall) (Plate 79). The Nataraja is a fragment merely but the Ganga is clear. The tympana are blurred but that above Ganesa contains a seated Siva and Parvati. The two-armed dvarapalas are excellent. The ardhamandapa is supported within by two rows of two pillars. All pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order with roll corbels, throated and with median band. On the engaged pillars the torus of the padma is cut with munai.

I have already mentioned the *Sundaresvara Temple* at MELAPPALUVUR and the claim of the Paluvettaraiyan chieftain Kandan Maravan to have built the temple in an inscription (394 of 1924) dated year 4 of a Rajakesari who is almost certainly Rajaraja I. A Bhikshatana, Vishnu, Jyestha and Candesvara survive from this period.[1] An interesting undated inscription (393 of 1924) of Kulottunga I (A.D. 1070–1120) states that the temple, which had been built of brick and lay in a neglected condition out of worship was rebuilt of stone, for the welfare of the king, by one Ilangesvaran and renamed Kulottungacola-Isvaram. This inscription and the surviving Bhikshatana suggests that Kandan Maravan's temple was not only of brick but also accommodated the Third Phase scheme of six images on the ardhamandapa. This is the first time we have met with an explicit reference to the continuing practice in our period of building the complete fabric of a temple in brick.

The *Uktavedisvara* (or *Colisvara*) *Temple* at KUTTALAM[2] (Tanjavur District) is also closely dated. An inscription of year 7 of Rajaraja I (103 of 1936: text in *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. XIII, No. 170) states that the temple was built by Sembiyan Mahadevi and registers provision made by her by gifts of land for offerings, worship, music and the maintenance of brahmans. The temple was therefore built in or just before A.D. 991.

Both vimana and ardhamandapa are on a base of Form B.5, already employed at Vriddhachalam. The small sculptured panels on the wall-kantha are excellent. The first tala is of Form B.4, peculiar, I believe, to Kuttalam (Plate 80a). The south devakoshtha is occupied by a late Dakshinamurti and the north by Brahma. In the east devakoshtha is a Lingodbhava with small supporters (Plate 80b). Brahma is represented on the linga mounted on the hamsa. The tympana are blurred. The ardhamandapa is of Form II.f, the recessed wall-spaces occupied by a grille of three lozenge-shaped apertures set vertically within split-pilasters and lintel. The images are, reading from the east, Nataraja in ananda-tandava, Ganesa (Plate 81a) and Agastya (Plate 81b) (south wall), and Bhikshatana (Plate 82), Durga and Ardhanari (north wall). The Nataraja has no Ganga. The tympana are excellent and contain a seated Siva and Parvati, a seated figure and linga worship (south wall) and Kalahara, Durga pursuing Mahisha and Krishna dancing on Kaliya (north wall). The two-armed dvarapalas are original. The ardhamandapa is supported within by two rows of two pillars. All pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order with roll corbels, throated and with median band.

To the south of Kumbakonam lies the village of ALAGADRIPUTTUR (Tanjavur District). The *Svarnapurisvara Temple* is a modern structure. Before destruction the inscriptions on the ancient fabric were collected

[1] Balasubrahmanyam, 1963, Plates 18–20. I have previously thought the Vishnu to belong to the Second Phase.
[2] Balasubrahmanyam, 1971, pp. 176–8. His Plates 181–3 illustrate Late Cola bronzes.

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(283–9 of 1908). One inscription (283), dated in year 7 of Rajaraja I, refers to a gift to the temple at Tirup-puttur, the ancient name of Alagadriputtur, by Pullali-Sattan Karivelar Kandaradittan otherwise known as Mummadisoliyavaraiyar who built the central shrine (sri-vimana) with stone. The ancient temple was there-fore built in or just before A.D. 991 and was contemporary with Kuttalam.

All that survives from the ancient temple are the two-armed dvarapalas (Plate 84), a Brahma and a Lingodbhava with Brahma represented on the linga as seated on his hamsa (Plate 83). All are in Third Phase style. Fortunately the Government Epigraphist's Office holds a negative (Neg. No. 32 of 1907–8) which shows the complete base of the vimana and the jagati of the ardhamandapa of the ancient temple before its destruction. The base of the vimana was of Form B.2.a, the panels of the wall-kantha carved with miniatures. On the photograph the Lingodbhava and, behind it, the Brahma can be seen standing on the base. We may assume that the first tala was of Form B.1. It is not possible to guess the Form of the ardhamandapa, though the articulation of the base makes it clear that there were recessed wall-spaces between it and the vimana.

After the five temples already discussed there are no firmly dated monuments in Colamandalam until the latter part of Rajaraja I's reign, with the exception of the Rajarajesvara Temple at Tanjavur where the creative energy of the kingdom was no doubt mainly occupied.

The Panchanadisvara Temple at TIRUVAIYARU has already been discussed under the First Phase. On the north side of its outer prakara a queen of Rajaraja I, Danti Sakti Vitanki otherwise known as Lokama-hadevi, built a splendid shrine named after her Lokamahadevi Isvara and now called the *Uttara Kailasa*, in or just before year 21 of Rajaraja I's reign (219 of 1894: *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. V, No. 518). The temple may be dated in or just before A.D. 1006.

Both vimana and ardhamandapa are a base of Form C.4 (Plate 85). The panels of the wall-kantha are plain. The base is lifted on a fine upapitha of the plain form but separated from the actual footing of the temple by a fairly strong cyma recta moulding. The first tala is of Form B.3. The south devakoshtha is occupied by a Dakshinamurti (dancing Krishna in tympanum) (Plate 86) and the north by a Brahma (Siva on Nandi in tympanum). Both images are among the finest of the reign of Rajaraja I, superior to those on the Rajarajesvara Temple. The west devakoshtha is empty. The second tala and round griva and sikhara are covered with painted stucco. The ardhamandapa is of the Form II.d, not, I believe, found elsewhere. Three full devakosh-thas occupy the whole length of each of the side-walls but the two flanking devakoshthas are blind and not designed for the reception of images. Moreover while the central devakoshtha pierces the wall-kantha, the flanking devakoshthas rest on it. The south central devakoshtha is occupied by a Nataraja in ananda-tandava (only a fragment remains) while the north, which presumably contained a Durga, is empty. The recessed wall-spaces contain a devakoshtha with a scene of linga worship in the tympanum. The two-armed dvarapalas are very large but coarse. The ardhamandapa is supported within by two rows of two pillars each. All pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order with roll corbels, throated and with median band.

Apart from the quality of its architecture and the two surviving devakoshtha figures the Uttara Kailasa is

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interesting for the unusual plan of the ardhamandapa with the flanking devakoshthas acting as decorative features merely on the long walls. I have already suggested in the previous chapter under the discussion of Tiruppirambiyam that Tiruppirambiyam itself, Govindaputtur, Tiruvilakkudi and Karuntattangudi suggest an iconographic scheme in the Third Phase of two devakoshthas only on the ardhamandapa, in which a Nataraja in ananda-tandava occupied the south devakoshtha. (Tiruppirambiyam supplies the evidence that images in flanking niches, though usually of the Third Phase, may sometimes be an afterthought.) The Uttara Kailasa makes it clear that there was such a scheme in the latter part of the reign of Rajaraja I. To recapitulate: apart from any earlier survivals (Tirukkuruhavur, Gandaradittam and Kilappaluvur) there are in the Third Phase two iconographic schemes used on the ardhamandapa. The first displays six images using Forms I.d, I.e, II.f and, certainly at Vriddhachalam, II.b.1. The second displays two images only, of which that in the south devakoshtha is a Nataraja in ananda-tandava.

This leads directly to the large and imposing *Karkotakesvara Temple* at KAMARASAVALLI,[1] a village situated on the north bank of the River Kollidam. Any interpretation of the evidence of the inscriptions (61–95 of 1914), none of which refers to the building or consecration of the temple, will require support from the fabric and it will be best first to describe the monument. Both vimana and ardhamandapa are on a base of Form A.2 (Plate 87). The panels of the wall-kantha are carved with excellent miniatures, one of which is of especial interest.[2] It shows a Nataraja in ananda-tandava surrounded by a flamed *prabha* or *mandorla*, exactly as depicted in contemporary bronze images of the deity. The first tala is of the unique Form C.2. On each of the three faces of the vimana images are accommodated in rectangular niches cut in the three recessed wall-spaces. They are, reading from the south-east, Ganesa (much too small for its niche and probably late), Dakshinamurti (late), Agastya (much too small for its niche and late), Ardhanari (too small for its niche but Third Phase), Lingodbhava with small supporters, Kankala (late), Kalahara (mutilated but Third Phase), Brahma (Plate 88) and Bhikshatana. In the Lingodbhava Brahma is represented on the linga as a hamsa: the ketaka flower is also shown. The second and third talas and round griva and sikhara are of brick: I would not like to hazard a date for this dignified and well-proportioned tower. The ardhamandapa is of Form I.b, but with two extra pilasters. The south devakoshtha is occupied by a Nataraja in ananda-tandava, badly mutilated and with no Ganga. The north devakoshtha contains a Durga. The two-armed dvarapalas are poor but seem original. All pillars and pilasters are of full Early Cola order with roll corbels, throated and with median band.

The architectural style of the temple tells us little. The Form A.2 of the base is found in all three Phases, while the Form C.2 of the first tala seems peculiar to this temple. However the style of the main images, the Lingodbhava, Brahma, Durga and Nataraja in ananda-tandava, is Third Phase. On the Lingodbhava image Brahma is represented on the linga as a hamsa, the ketaka flower also being shown. Moreover Nataraja in ananda-tandava is placed in the south devakoshtha of the ardhamandapa. All this suggests a date for the fabric in the Third Phase. The earliest incontrovertible inscriptions are eight of Rajaraja I ranging from year 13 to year 29. That of year 13 (76 of 1914) is engraved over an erasure of another but not necessarily earlier inscription.

[1] Balasubrahmanyam, 1971, pp. 138–44 and Plates 104–28. Plates 114–20 illustrate some of the fine collection of bronzes in the temple. None however is of the Early Cola Period.

[2] Balasubrahmanyam, 1971, Plate 123.

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One inscription of year 9 of a Parakesari (78 of 1914) may fairly be attributed to Uttama Cola, while a second (74 of 1914: *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. XIII, No. 109) of year 5 of a Rajakesari has been assigned to Parantaka II Sundara Cola. If the temple is as early as A.D. 961, Kamarasavalli will anticipate the Third Phase in that Brahma is represented on the linga as a hamsa, while a Nataraja in ananda-tandava appears not merely in a devakoshtha but in a south devakoshtha where only two images are displayed on the ardhamandapa. I have already suggested that a presumed Nataraja in ananda-tandava in a niche on the ardhamandapa of Udaiyargudi may be dated A.D. 965 and would not reject out of hand a date of about A.D. 960 for Kamara-savalli. On present evidence however I prefer to place the temple firmly in the Third Phase. If the fabric and main images are dated to the reign of Uttama Cola, I would say that of the subsidiary images Bhikshatana, Kalahara and possibly Ardhanari were added in the reign of Rajaraja I.

Further north in the region between Colamandalam and Tondaimandalam and in Tondaimandalam itself the style of the Third Phase is fairly well documented at least for the early and last years of the reign.

In the remote village of OLAGAPURAM (Tindivanam Taluk of South Arcot District) there are two interesting temples, one dedicated to Siva, the other to Vishnu. The *Siva Temple* is unfortunately a ruin but sufficient of the fabric survives to make its original form clear. On the south wall of the shrine is an inscription (129 of 1919: *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. XIII, No. 54) which records an endowment for a perpetual lamp in the temple of Sri Kailayattu-Paramasvami at Ulogamadevipuram by Ambalavan Gandaradittanar, a nobleman of the king, who is stated also to have built the temple of stone. The name of the village is evidently derived from Lokamahadevi, the queen of Rajaraja I. The inscription is dated in year 3 of a Rajakesari who is, we may confidently assume, Rajaraja I. In a second inscription (127 of 1919: *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. XIII, No. 167) of year 7 of a Rajakesari the same donor is mentioned and is now said to be a native of Kuvaladam (Kolar). The temple was therefore built in or just before year 3 of Rajaraja I (A.D. 987).

Both vimana and ardhamandapa are on a base of Form A.1 (Plate 89). The first tala is of Form A.2. The south devakoshtha is occupied by Dakshinamurti (Plate 90): in the field of the tympanum, which is abraded, is a standing Siva with Nandi. The west and north walls of the vimana are ruined. The tower is of dilapidated brick and formless. The ardhamandapa is of Form I.b. The south devakoshtha is empty but certainly contained a Ganesa, while the north contains a fine Durga standing on the buffalo's head (Plate 91). The four-armed dvarapalas are excellent. All pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order with plain, angular corbels. Near the temple survive contemporary figures of Surya, Karttikeya and a large Candesvara. Here on the southern border of Tondaimandalam is a temple of the beginning of the reign of Rajaraja I still unaffected by the architectural developments which had been taking place in Colamandalam over the past thirty years. The style of the sculpture however is clearly Third Phase. The south wall of the vimana exhibits one strange feature. To the east of the Dakshinamurti is cut a large rectangular niche containing a Bhikshatana (Plate 92a): an insertion, I suggest, made at the very end of Rajaraja I's reign if not somewhat later.

The *Vishnu Temple* at Olagapuram, in excellent condition apart from the tower which has collapsed, is

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much more advanced architecturally. With proper attention it would become one of the two finest temples dedicated to Vishnu to have survived from the Early Cola Period. Both vimana and ardhamandapa are on a base of Form B.4.b but lacking the minor cyma recta separating kumuda from jagati. The vyala-mala is very fine with, at the corners, the projecting heads of makaras holding warriors in their gaping jaws. Most of the panels in the wall-kantha are carved with miniatures. The first tala is of Form B.3. The south and north devakoshthas contain a standing figure of Vishnu, while the west contains a standing figure of Vishnu with the hoods of the naga (Adisesha). The elaborate tympana are blurred. The ardhamandapa is of Form I.b. The south devakoshtha contains a late standing Vishnu and the north a Durga. The dvarapalas are missing. All pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order with roll corbels, throated and with median band. The torus on all pillars and pilasters is cut with munai. The strong base, excellent proportions of the elevation, good detail and fine Third Phase images make up a dignified monument. The evidence of the inscriptions is not as good as on the Siva temple. However, the earliest inscription, of year 5 of Rajendra (A.D. 1017), records a number of grants of land which had been made in previous years but not so registered hitherto (140 of 1919). Another inscription (142 of 1919) is dated in year 24 of Rajendra. The Vishnu temple may fairly be dated towards the end of the reign of Rajaraja I or possibly early in that of his successor.

Unlike the Siva temple at Olagapuram, the *Panchanadisvara Temple* at TIRUVANDARKOYIL,[1] which lies about ten miles from Villupuram on the road to Pondicherry, seems fully aware of the architectural development in Colamandalam. Both vimana and ardhamandapa are on a base of Form A.2. The panels of the wall-kantha are carved with miniatures. The first tala is of Form B.3. The south devakoshtha contains Dakshinamurti, the west Lingodbhava and the north Brahma. I had previously, with Pattabiramin, doubted the Lingodbhava, on which Brahma is represented as a flying figure. The second and third talas and the round griva and sikhara are covered with stucco. The ardhamandapa is of Form II.b.1 with plain recessed wall-spaces. The south devakoshtha is occupied by Ganesa. The east niche contains Bhikshatana and the west, which is empty, probably contained a Nataraja. The north devakoshtha is occupied by Durga standing on the buffalo head. The east niche contains Vrsvahana and the west Ardhanari. The dvarapalas are good. All pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order.

Inscriptions of Rajaraja I of years 12 and 27 (361, 362 and 364 of 1917) are found on the temple. One of year 5 of a Rajakesari (359 of 1917), who is almost certainly Rajaraja I, refers to a gift made in year 14 of Parantaka I and to a transaction in year 28 of Kannaradeva. There are also three inscriptions of years 15 (366 of 1917), 16 (369 of 1917) and 40 (376 of 1917) of a Parakesari, who at least in the last, is almost certainly Parantaka I.

Balasubrahmanyam is of the opinion that the present fabric dates from the period of Parantaka I, perhaps as early as year 15. Mistakenly believing that the Bhikshatana occupies a devakoshtha and Ganesa a niche, he accepts the former as 'original' and considers the latter a Third Phase insertion of the reign of Uttama Cola.

[1] P. Z. Pattabiramin, *Quatre Vieux Temples des Environs de Pondichéry*, Pondichéry, 1948; Barrett, pp. 17–18: Balasubrahmanyam, 1971, pp. 83–4 and Plates 84–7 (wrongly captioned).

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He is admitting that the images in both devakoshthas and niches are all in the same style, a somewhat harsh version of the Third Phase manner. The temple, both fabric and devakoshtha images, may be dated in or just before year 5 of Rajaraja I (A.D. 999). I would be prepared to accept the images in the niches as somewhat later but still in the Third Phase.

The ruined Siva shrine in the *Candramaulisvara Temple* at TIRUVAKKARAI (South Arcot District), the latest known monument erected by Sembiyan Mahadevi, was built in stone (200 of 1904) in or just before year 16 of Rajaraja I (A.D. 1001). Both vimana and ardhamandapa are on a base of Form B.1. The first tala is of Form B.3. The south devakoshtha retains a good Dakshinamurti. All pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order with plain angular corbels.

In this region there still survives what must have been a lovely small temple at MADAGADIPATTU[1] in the old Pondicherry Territory. Though a ruin, enough remains to reconstruct the original form of the fabric. The images also survive. Both vimana and ardhamandapa are on a base of Form B.6.a, already found at Tirup-purambiyam. The first tala was of a Form B; almost certainly B.1. The south devakoshtha contained Dakshinamurti (now a fragment), the east Lingodbhava and the north Brahma. On the linga Brahma is represented as a hamsa. The round griva and sikhara of stone are of a beautiful waisted bell-shape. In the devakoshthas of the griva are Dakshinamurti (south), Karttikeya (east), Brahma (north) and Vishnu (west). The ardhamandapa is of Form I.b. A standing Ganesa occupies the south devakoshtha and Durga the north. The images, in excellent condition and sharp in detail, represent the very end of the Third Phase style and may be dated to the last years of the reign of Rajaraja I. Of the many inscriptions on the temple one is helpful though undated.[2] It mentions certain offerings to the temple built of stone by Rajarajadevar. A judicious restoration of this royal monument is overdue.

In Tondaimandalam itself the reign of Rajaraja I is represented by two important sites, each containing two temples.

The village of DADAPURAM lies in South Arcot District on the road from Wandiwash to Tindivanam. An inscription on the north and west walls of the vimana of the Vishnu temple (8 of 1919) records that Kundavai, the elder sister of Rajaraja I, built three temples at Rajarajapuram, one to Siva called Ravikula-manikka Isvara, another to Vishnu called Kundavai-Vinnagar-Alvar and a third to Jina called Kundavai-Jinalaya, and made rich gifts to them. The inscription is dated year 21 of a Rajakesari who is Rajaraja I (A.D. 1006). I have been unable to discover even the site of the Jain temple but the Siva and Vishnu temples, identical in plan and architectural detail, survive immaculate. Their elevations are the finest and most elaborate since Tiruppurambiyam. I will describe the Siva temple (Plate 93). Both vimana and ardhamandapa are on a base of Form B.6.a, already found at Gandaradittam, Tiruppurambiyam and Madagadipattu. Here however the base is lifted on an upapitha of plain planks with, at the corners, supporting figures of lions and elephants.

[1] P. Z. Pattabiramin, *Temple de Madagadipattou*, Pondichéry, 1951. [2] P. Z. Pattabiramin, op. cit., pp. 64–5.

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It is interesting to see this survival of an old Pallava tradition in Tondaimandalam, and students of Nolamba architecture of the Southern Deccan will recognize a similar convention on the upapitha of the Mallikarjuna Temple at Dharmapuri, where however the planks and the panels are decorated with scrolling and figural carving. The first tala is of Form D.2. The windows of the panjaras reach only to the valabhi but their bases, of Form C.4 found on the Uttara Kailasa at Tiruvaiyaru, penetrate to the upana. The devakoshthas are occupied by a late Dakshinamurti (south), Vishnu, original but in poor condition (west), and a late Brahma (north). The tympana are merely blocked out. On the east wing of the south wall is a small, original figure of Vinadhara Dakshinamurti standing before Nandi. The second tala and round griva and sikhara seem to be of brick and stucco. The ardhamandapa is of Form II.b. The south devakoshtha is occupied by a standing Ganesa, the north by Durga (Plate 92b). The tympana over Ganesa has good scrolling but that over Durga is blank. The four-armed dvarapalas are large and good. The ardhamandapa is supported within by two rows of two pillars each. All pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order with plain angular corbels. Four of the original Saptamatrikas, a Karttikeya and a Jyestha survive on the site. The Vishnu temple is virtually identical. There are however no images in the devakoshthas and no dvarapalas. Within the vimana are three very large images: the Bhudevi and Vishnu (face re-cut) are superb, but the Sridevi is a replacement. There is one interesting architectural detail. Between the pillars supporting one of the panjaras on the vimana is what appears to be a primitive version of the kumbha-panjara, a popular decorative motif which first makes its appearance on the Rajarajesvara temple at Tanjavur. On the Vishnu temple at Dadapuram it consists of a kumbha (vase) supporting a panel of floral scrolling, which terminates in a lion mask. The pillars of the panjara have the torus of the padma cut into munai.

The two temples at Dadapuram are important for several reasons apart from their intrinsic quality. Closely dated (A.D. 1006) they reveal for the first time in Tondaimandalam appreciation of the full potential of the Third Phase architectural style as developed in Colamandalam. Base and elevation of the vimana owe everything to the example of the metropolitan centres further south. Dadapuram however retains a Vishnu on the end wall and a local tradition in the upapitha. Moreover Form II.b continues to be used for the ardhamandapa, which remains unaffected by the iconographic disposition of six images employed since the beginning of the Third Phase in Colamandalam.

The two temples, now to be described, lie deep in Tondaimandalam and show no awareness of the architectural developments in Colamandalam. The village of MELPADI lies six miles north of Tiruvallam. Within the village is a Siva temple known as the Somanathesvara. An inscription (101 of 1921) registers a gift of land to the god of the Colendrasimhesvara temple constructed by the king in the newly named city of Rajasrayapuram after cancelling the old name of Merpadi also known as Viranarayanapuram. (Viranaraya was a name of Parantaka I.) The inscription is dated in year 14 of Rajaraja I (A.D. 999). Outside the village is a second temple known as the Colesvara. Here an inscription (86 of 1889: *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III. Nos. 15–17) mentions that the Somanathesvara formed the northern boundary of a new temple of Arinjigai

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Isvarattu Mahadevar constructed by Rajaraja I in or just before year 29 (A.D. 1014) as a pallipadai, a memorial temple, to his grandfather Arinjigai or Arinjaya. The latter is known to have died at Arrur, which was presumably near Melpadi.

The earlier temple, the *Somanathesvara*, is, both vimana and ardhamandapa, on a base of Form A.1. The first tala is of Form A.1. The devakoshthas are occupied by Dakshinamurti (south), Vishnu (west) and Brahma (north). The Brahma alone belongs. The second tala and round griva and sikhara are of stone and in good condition. The devakoshthas in the griva are occupied by Vinadhara Dakshinamurti (south), Vishnu (west), Brahma (north) and Karttikeya (east). All are in poor condition. On the griva platform sit four original figures of Nandi. The ardhamandapa is of Form I.b. The Ganesa in the south devakoshtha and Durga in the north are late. The two-armed dvarapalas are excellent. All pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order with plain angular corbels, some of which have a median band. There are on the site a very fine set of Saptamatrikas with Ganesa, and a Surya.

The *Colesvara*,[1] built fifteen years later in the last year of Rajaraja I's reign, is no more advanced in plan or detail. Both vimana and ardhamandapa stand on a base of Form A.2. The panels of the wall-kantha are carved with miniatures. The first tala is of Form A.1. The south devakoshtha contains a Dakshinamurti (Bhikshatana in tympanum) (Plate 94), the west a Vishnu (Vishnu in tympanum) (Plate 95) and the north a Brahma. The round griva and sikhara are of stone. The griva devakoshthas contain Vinadhara Dakshinamurti (south), Brahma (north) and Karttikeya (east). The ardhamandapa is of Form I.b. The south devakoshtha is empty but the north contains Durga, standing directly on her pedestal. Both tympana are good. The dvarapalas, original, are four-armed. All pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order with plain angular corbels.

Both temples at Melpadi were built by royal patronage and the Colesvara must have had particular significance for the royal family. Nevertheless Rajaraja I was content to use local craftsmen, who were no doubt responsible for the dry and provincial style of the sculptures and for what must have seemed a very simple and out-of-date architectural plan and elevation. In spite of the centralized control of the empire, Tondaimandalam seems to have remained a backward area artistically. Perhaps it was the ladies of the court, who following the tradition of Sembiyan Mahadevi proved the more devoted and discerning patrons, and it is no accident that the three finest monuments of the second half of Rajaraja I's reign, the Rajarajesvara Temple at Tanjavur apart, were built by women: I mean the Uttara Kailasa at Tiruvaiyaru built by queen Lokamahadevi and the two surviving temples at Dadapuram built by Kundavai, the king's elder sister.

It is perhaps useful to add one temple which illustrates the conservative nature of art in Tondaimandalam after its great original period under the Pallavas. The temple, which lies outside our period but, significantly, is often included in it, is the *Nilakanthesvara* at LADDIGAM, about three miles from Punganur in the modern State of Andhra Pradesh. The temple is entered by a small and attractive gopura which consists of one tala

[1] Balasubrahmanyam, 1971, Plates 299–302.

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surmounted by a barrel-vaulted pavilion (sala) (Plate 96). The base is of Form A.2. The pillars, coarsely cut, are of the full Early Cola order. The corbels are plain and angular but on the slanting face a rectangular tenon has been left. This form of corbel does not appear in our period, except on the Rajarajesvara Temple at Tanjavur (about A.D. 1004–10), which, in spite of its obvious prestige, does not seem to have affected, in this or any other respect, any monument of Rajaraja I's reign. In the griva of the sala are set figures of Dakshinamurti (south), Vishnu (west), Brahma (north) and Indra mounted on his elephant (east). The temple itself consists of a vimana and an ardhamandapa which leads directly into a larger, closed mandapa supported by four pillars, lit by a grille on its east wall and entered by a door in the south wall. Vimana, ardhamandapa and mandapa form one integral structure. All are on a base of Form A.2. The south devakoshtha is occupied by Dakshinamurti (Plate 97), the west by Vishnu (Plate 98) and the north by Brahma. Above the Vishnu is a tympanum with a Nataraja in the field. The round griva and sikhara are now covered with plaster but the four devakoshthas of the griva, the lotus and stupi and the four figures of Nandi remain clear (Plate 99). The devakoshthas of the griva contain the same figures as the gopura except that Vishnu is represented as Narasimha. The ardhamandapa is of Form I.b. The south devakoshtha contains Ganesa: the north is empty. Here again the pillars and pilasters are of the full Early Cola order but the mala-sthanas, like all the decorative carving, are coarse. The corbel with the rectangular tenon is again employed.

This temple has frequently been used to illustrate a primitive form of gopura constructed in the Early Cola Period. This was due to the fact that left of the door to the mandapa is an inscription of year 9 of Rajaraja I (551 of 1906) registering a gift to the temple of Irungolisvara, the ancient name. This is the 'earliest' inscription on the temple. However the earliest inscription on the shrine (553 of 1906) is of year 16 of Rajakesari Kulottunga Coladeva (A.D. 1086). It records a gift to the temple of Irungolisvara built at Koyarrur otherwise known as Uttamacolapuram by Adavalam Gangaikondacola otherwise known as Irungolan. The temple was then built in or just before A.D. 1086. It shows that even as late as the reign of Kulottunga I, admittedly in the far north of Tondaimandalam, the architectural style of Melpadi, itself no advance on the monuments of the early tenth century A.D., was still accepted as a model.

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CONCLUSION

At the beginning of our period the Early Cola kingdom, under Vijayalaya, was but one of several small feudatory states between two great powers, the Pandya and the Pallava. After the Battle of Sripurambiyam (about A.D. 885), Aditya I, in circumstances still obscure, suddenly emerged as ruler of all Colamandalam and, almost immediately, as the successor to the Pallava in Tondaimandalam. With the defeat of the Pandya and the extension and firm control of both his north and south boundaries, Parantaka I established his kingdom as the paramount power in South India. This first empire, which lasted for some fifty years, was abruptly terminated by the disaster at Takkolam (about A.D. 949) and the subsequent occupation by the Rashtrakuta of most of the Cola possessions outside Colamandalam. The Cola recovery, which required no doubt most of the resources of the diminished kingdom, began under Parantaka II and his son Aditya II. The Pandya was again defeated and Tondaimandalam partially regained. By the accession of Uttama Cola in A.D. 969–70 the re-establishment of a settled and prosperous social and economic life seems to have been complete. On its basis Rajaraja I, who came to the throne in A.D. 985, was able to realize a vast imperial design, welding together the whole of South India into a second empire more extensive and enduring than the first.

Early Cola religious art repeats the pattern of the political history with two great outbursts of creative energy separated by a bleak and mainly unproductive period of about twenty years.

The first creative period is covered, apart from its last ten or so years, by my First Phase. Full maturity in the style seems to have been achieved as swiftly as the political supremacy. There is little suggestion of a movement from simple to complex in the architecture of the First Phase. The plan and elevation of Tiruppalanam, for example, which may be dated in the last decade of the ninth century A.D. or earlier if one follows Balasubrahmanyam, is more elaborately articulated than any other monument of the Early Cola Period. Nor has it been possible to indicate any 'archaic' fabrics within the First Phase with the exception of Sendalai which may be as early as year 8 of Aditya I. The sources of the style remain obscure. There is little evidence for the period immediately preceding the First Phase either in Colamandalam or further south. The style may have derived something in architecture and sculpture from Muttaraiyar example, but is, I believe, as so often in periods of intense vitality and heightened self-confidence, mainly original. One thing does seem certain on present evidence: the Pallava style of the late ninth and early tenth centuries A.D. contributed little or nothing to the First Phase. Indeed. Tondaimandalam was, and remained throughout the Early Cola Period, architecturally conservative.

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CONCLUSION

Direct and factual evidence for the detailed progression of style within the First Phase is small. From the reigns of Vijayalaya and Aditya I not a single temple, with the possible exceptions of Sendalai (in or before A.D. 878) and Tillaisthanam (in or before A.D. 884), seems to have survived with an unimpeachable *terminus ante quem*. In the reign of Parantaka I the evidence improves to some degree. In Colamandalam Tiruchchendurai is dated certainly in or before year 3 and probably in or before year 2, while Andanallur is almost certainly dated in or before year 11. We are again on secure ground in the second half of the reign, not unfortunately in Colamandalam but in the Border Country, at Erumbur and Tirunamanallur of year 28 and Gramam of year 36. Clearly it is the cumulative evidence, of the inscriptions and the fabrics taken together, which must be used as support to the claim of the Anbil Plates that Aditya I built large stone temples to Siva along both banks of the River Kaveri. The cumulative evidence is very impressive. It is however by no means decisive. It would for example be unwise to insist that Srinivasanallur belongs to about year 24 of Aditya I (A.D. 894) rather than to about year 20 of Parantaka I (A.D. 927) on the basis of a single inscription. Nevertheless Aditya I's great achievement as builder is expressly selected for record some fifty years after his death. If it is fair to assume that this temple-building was mainly concentrated into the two decades immediately following the Battle of Sripurambiyam, then the evidence suggests that while Parantaka I followed his father's example, it was on a rather less ambitious scale.

The impulse to build, at least in Colamandalam, seems to have slackened in the third decade of the tenth century A.D., though it may be the mere accident of survival which conveys this impression. There is however, about A.D. 940, clear indication that a movement was under way towards a new handling of architectural plan and detail and a new conception of plastic form in the sculpture. The crucial evidence is provided by Tiruvaduturai. Whether we believe it was built about A.D. 932 or A.D. 945, it is no longer a temple of the First Phase. Indeed, it is so advanced in conception that it is already closer to the monuments built after A.D. 970 than to those of the first half of the reign of Parantaka I. Unfortunately Tiruvaduturai seems to be unique, though Punjai makes much the same point less explicitly. This movement of style, we must believe, was checked by the defeat at Takkolam. The small group of temples which may be attributed to the troubled period from about A.D. 949 to A.D. 969 is in general architecturally conservative though the sculpture continues to move away from the great style of the First Phase. During this period, as the situation begins to improve, an important piece of real evidence is provided by Udaiyargudi, which, I believe, can be dated in or just before A.D. 965.

With the accession of Uttama Cola in A.D. 969–70 the success of the Cola revival is marked by a close series of dated temples spread throughout the reign. The new style of the Third Phase is ushered in by Konerirajapuram, built and patronized, like so many of the temples, by Sembiyan Mahadevi. The accession of Rajaraja I in A.D. 985 marks no break or change in the progress of the Third Phase. Sembiyan Mahadevi's role as patron continues until the turn of the century and is then taken up by other noble ladies of the court. In Colamandalam the evidence from dated fabrics is fairly full for the first twenty years of the reign. Thereafter the building of the Rajarajesvara at Tanjavur (about A.D. 1006–10) seems to have been the main preoccupation of the royal family. This huge temple-complex hardly concerns us here since its influence was not felt until after the end of Rajaraja I's reign. Apart from the colossal scale modification of architectural plan is limited to

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the insertion between vimana and ardhamandapa of a large antarala with a stepped entrance on north and south. As far as the elevation is concerned the elaborate iconographic schemes, now made possible, indeed demanded by the length and height of the first tala, are disposed on the vimana. Innovation in detail is limited to the corbel with rectangular tenon and the kumbha-panjara used to enliven the large areas of plain surface. In Tondaimandalam the influence of the metropolitan style is not felt until about A.D. 1006 at Dadapuram. Even so, the latest monument of the Early Cola Period in this region, the Colesvara at Melpadi, though patronized by the king himself, retains the architectural forms current a century or more earlier.

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Appendix

ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES AND STYLES

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1. THE VIMANA

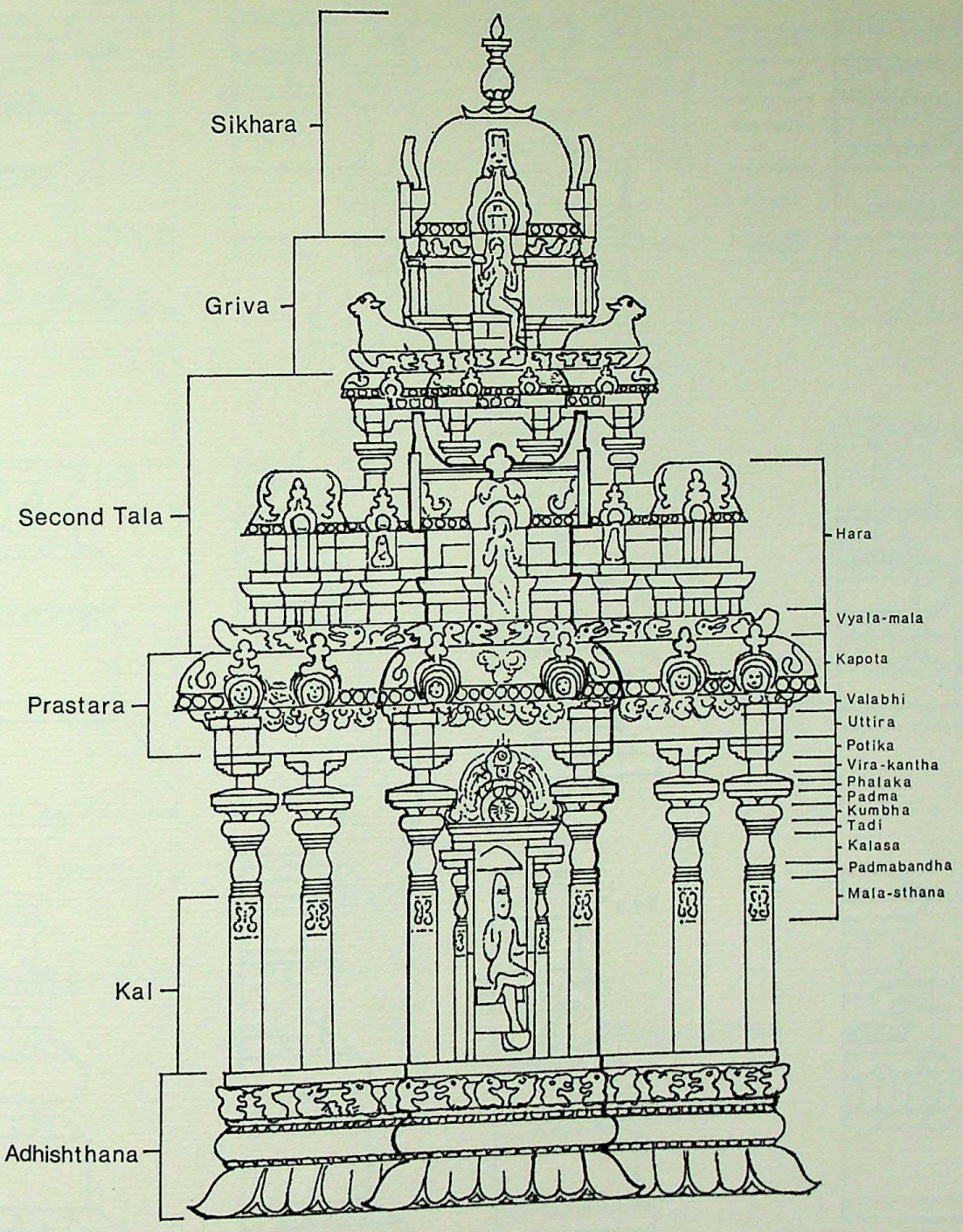

Fig 1. The Vimana

The first Tala comprises the Adhishthana (the base) and the walls up to the top of the Prastara

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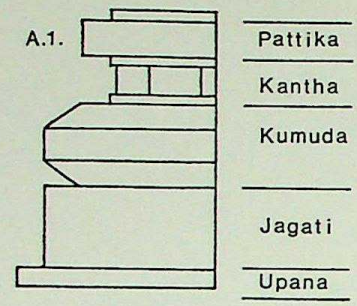
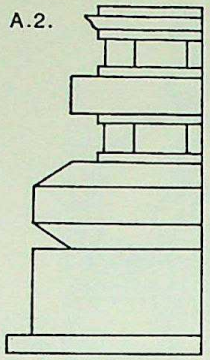
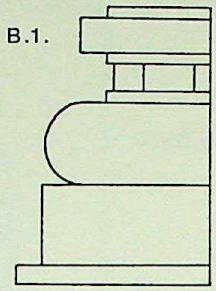
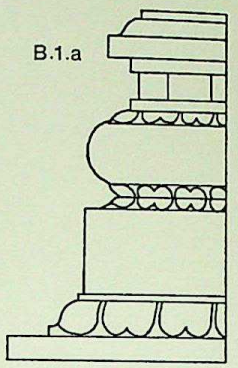
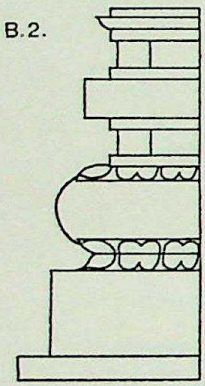
2. THE BASE OF THE VIMANA

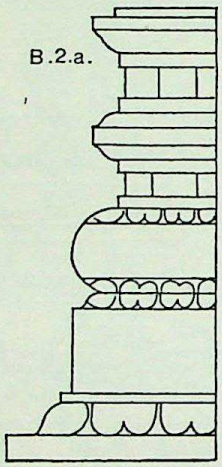


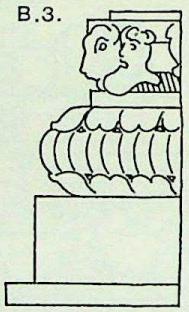


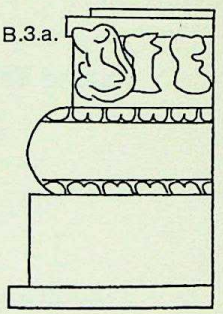


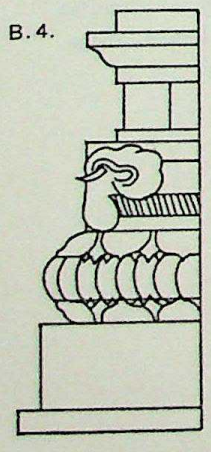


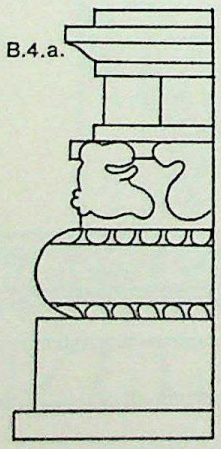


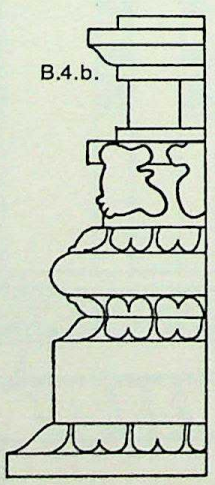


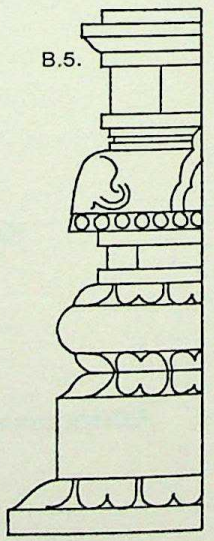












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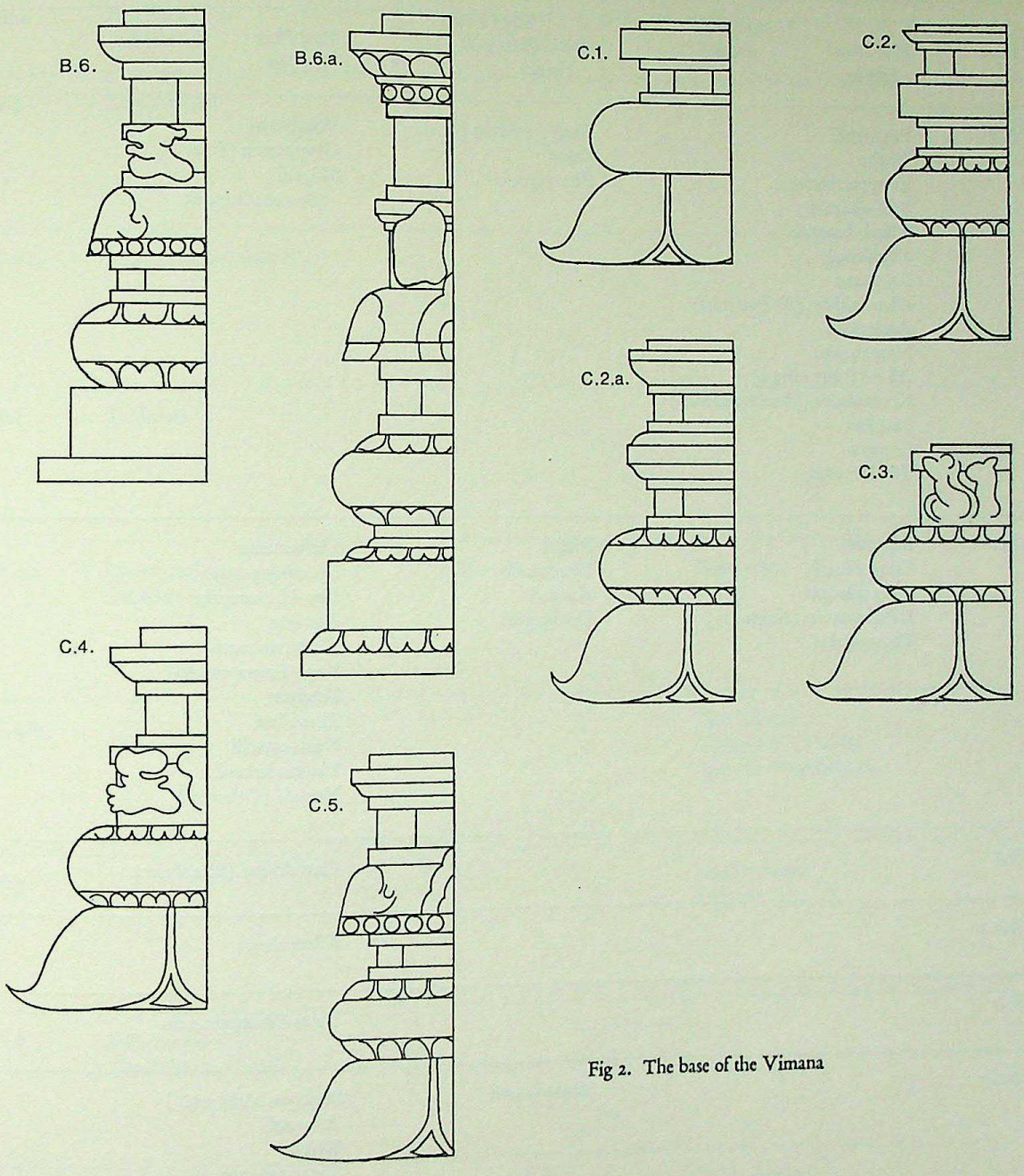

Fig 2. The base of the Vimana

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APPENDIX

THE BASE OF THE VIMANA: TABLE OF TEMPLES

Form	*First Phase Temples*	*Second Phase Temples*	*Third Phase Temples*
A.1	Panangudi Viralur Tirupparaitturai Tillaisthanam Tiruchchatturai Tirukkattali Kannanur Alambakkam (Kailasanatha) Andanallur Nangavaram Allur (Pasupatisvara) Kodumbalur (Mucukundesvara) Erumbur Gramam Tondaimanad	Tiruppunturutti (?) Bahur Perangiyur	Velachcheri Olagapuram (Siva) Melpadi (Somanathesvara)
A.2	Niyamam Tiruvedikudi Tiruppalanam Kumbakonam (Nagesvara) Tiruppalturai	Punjai Tiruverumbur Koviladi Udaiyargudi	Tiruvamattur Konerirajapuram Tiruvidaimarudur Anangur Tirukkuruhavur Koyil Tevarayanpettai Turaiyur Tiruvallam Kamarasavalli Tiruvandarkoyil Melpadi (Colesvara)
B.1			Tiruvakkarai (Siva shrine)
B.1.a			Kilappaluvur
B.2			Nalur-Tirumeyjnanam
B.2.a		Tiruvaduturai	Sembiyan Mahadevi Aduturai Kuhur Tirunagesvaram Tiruvarur (Achalesvara) Karuntattangudi (?) Alagadriputtur

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APPENDIX

Form	*First Phase Temples*	*Second Phase Temples*	*Third Phase Temples*
B.3	Tondaimanad		
B.3.a	Allur (Panchanadisvara)		
B.4	Takkolam		
B.4.a	Srinivasanallur Tirukkattuppalli	Kilur	Tirunaraiyur
B.4.b			Tiruvilakkudi Olagapuram (Vishnu) Tanjavur (Rajarajesvara)
B.5			Vriddhachalam Kuttalam
B.6	Pullamangai Tiruchchennampundi		
B.6.a			Gandaradittam Tiruppurambiyam Madagadipattu Dadapuram

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APPENDIX

THE BASE OF THE VIMANA: TABLE OF TEMPLES

Form	*First Phase Temples*	*Second Phase Temples*	*Third Phase Temples*
A.1	Panangudi Viralur Tirupparaitturai Tillaisthanam Tiruchchatturai Tirukkattali Kannanur Alambakkam (Kailasanatha) Andanallur Nangavaram Allur (Pasupatisvara) Kodumbalur (Mucukundesvara) Erumbur Gramam Tondaimanad	Tiruppunturutti (?) Bahur Perangiyur	Velachcheri Olagapuram (Siva) Melpadi (Somanathesvara)
A.2	Niyamam Tiruvedikudi Tiruppalanam Kumbakonam (Nagesvara) Tiruppalturai	Punjai Tiruverumbur Koviladi Udaiyargudi	Tiruvamattur Konerirajapuram Tiruvidaimarudur Anangur Tirukkuruhavur Koyil Tevarayanpettai Turaiyur Tiruvallam Kamarasavalli Tiruvandarkoyil Melpadi (Colesvara)
B.1			Tiruvakkarai (Siva shrine)
B.1.a			Kilappaluvur
B.2			Nalur-Tirumeyjnanam
B.2.a		Tiruvaduturai	Sembiyan Mahadevi Aduturai Kuhur Tirunagesvaram Tiruvarur (Achalesvara) Karuntattangudi (?) Alagadriputtur

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APPENDIX

Form	*First Phase Temples*	*Second Phase Temples*	*Third Phase Temples*
B.3	Tondaimanad		
B.3.a	Allur (Panchanadisvara)		
B.4	Takkolam		
B.4.a	Srinivasanallur Tirukkattuppalli	Kilur	Tirunaraiyur
B.4.b			Tiruvilakkudi Olagapuram (Vishnu) Tanjavur (Rajarajesvara)
B.5			Vriddhachalam Kuttalam
B.6	Pullamangai Tiruchchennampundi		
B.6.a			Gandaradittam Tiruppurambiyam Madagadipattu Dadapuram

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APPENDIX

The Base of the Vimana (continued)

Form	*First Phase Temples*	*Second Phase Temples*	*Third Phase Temples*
C.1			
C.2			
C.2.a			Aduturai
C.3	Kilaiyur Tiruchchendurai Tiruvaiyaru (Panchanadisvara) Valikandapuram Allur (Panchanadisvara) Tirunamanallur	Kodumbalur (Muvarkoyil)	
C.4	Kilaiyur (Mandapa) Lalgudi Kandiyur Kiliyanur		Tirunaraiyur Tiruvaiyaru (Uttara Kailasa)
C.5			Govindaputtur

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3. THE FIRST TALA OF THE VIMANA

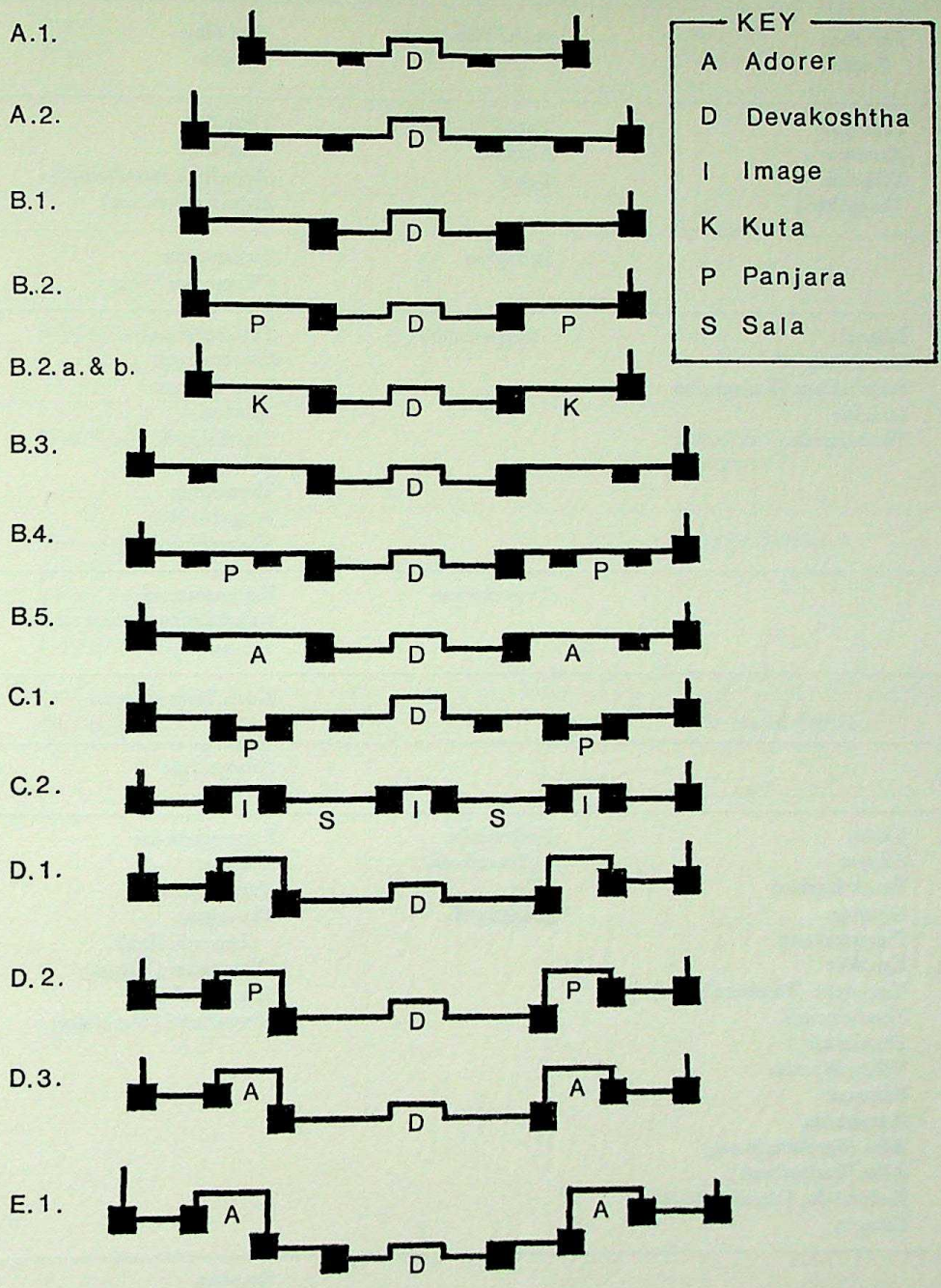

Fig 3. The First Tala of the Vimana

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APPENDIX

THE FIRST TALA OF THE VIMANA: TABLE OF TEMPLES

Form	*First Phase Temples*	*Second Phase Temples*	*Third Phase Temples*
A.1	Panangudi Kannanur Takkolam Tiruppalturai	Punjai Koviladi Bahur	Tiruvallam Velachcheri Melpadi (Somanathesvara) Melpadi (Colesvara)
A.2		Perangiyur	Tiruvamattur Olagapuram (Siva)
B.1	Lalgudi Tirukkattuppalli Alambakkam (Kailasantha) Erumbur Tirunamanallur	Tiruppunturutti (?)	Tirukkuruhavur Govindaputtur Gandaradittam Aduturai Tiruvilakkudi Tirunagesvaram Tirunaraiyur Alagadriputtur Madagadipattu (?)
B.2		Tiruvaduturai	Karuntattangudi Nalur-Tirumeyjnanam Turaiyur
B.2.a			Kovil Tevarayanpettai
B.2.b			Kilappaluvur
B.3	Viralur Kilaiyur Tiruchchendurai Niyamam Tirupparaitturai Kandiyur Tiruvaiyaru (Panchanadisvara) Tiruchchatturai Tirukkattali Valikandapuram Kiliyanur Nangavaram Allur (Panchanadisvara) Allur (Pasupatisvara) Kodumbalur (Mucukundesvara) Gramam	Kodumbalur (Muvarkoyil) Kilur Udaiyargudi	Konerirajapuram Anangur Vriddhachalam Tiruvaiyaru (Uttara Kailasa) Olagapuram (Vishnu) Tiruvandarkoyil Tiruvakkarai (Siva shrine)
B.4			Kuttalam
B.5			Tiruvidaimarudur Tirukkodikaval

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APPENDIX

Form	*First Phase Temples*	*Second Phase Temples*	*Third Phase Temples*
C.1		Tiruverumbur	
C.2			Kamarasavalli
D.1	Andanallur		Kuhur
D.2	Pullamangai		Tiruppurambiyam Dadapuram
D.3	Srinivasanallur Tiruvedikudi Tillaisthanam Kumbakonam (Nagesvara) Tiruchchennampundi		Sembiyan Mahadevi
E.1	Tiruppalanam		Tiruvarur (Achalesvara)

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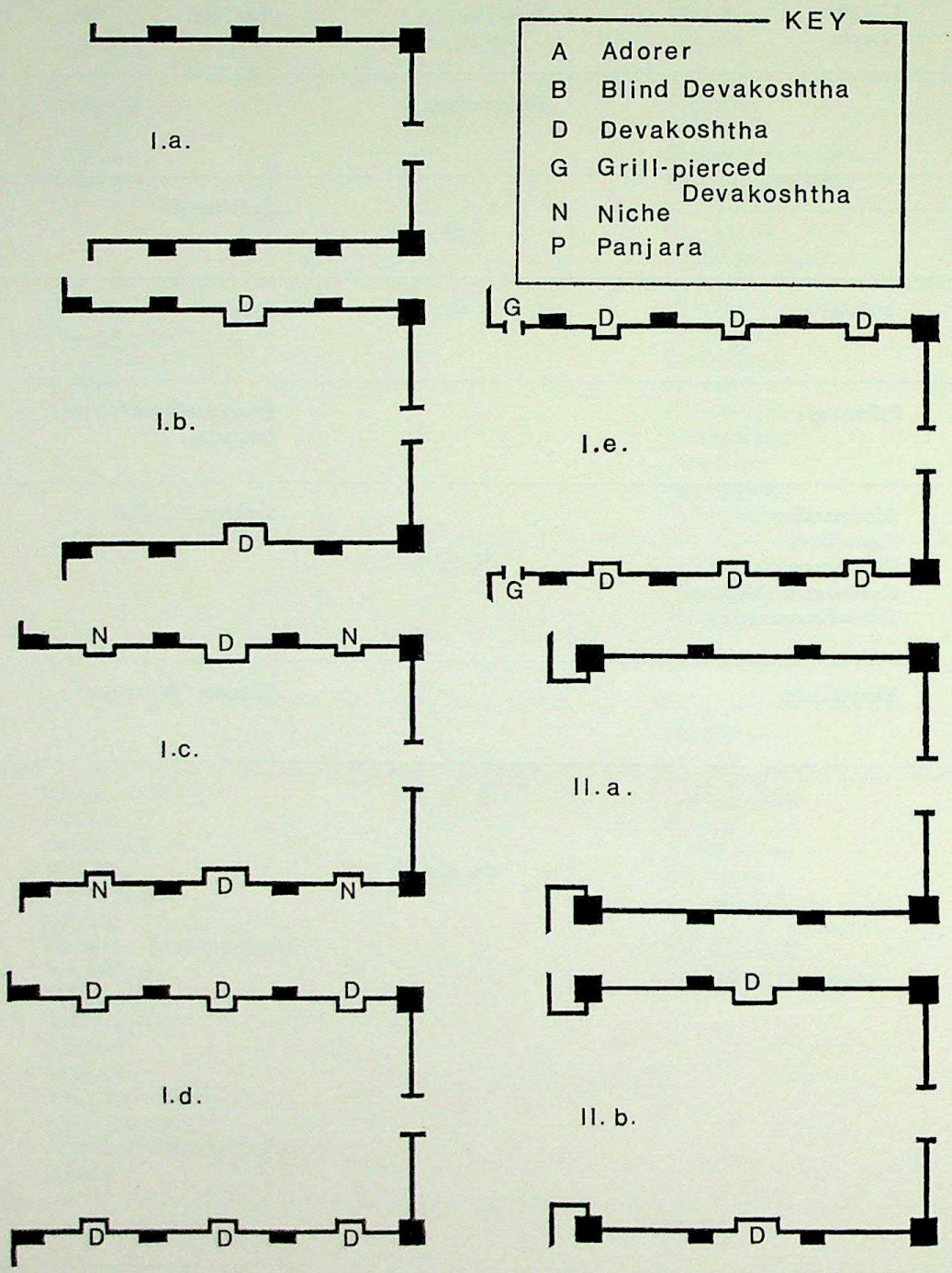
4. THE ARDHAMANDAPA



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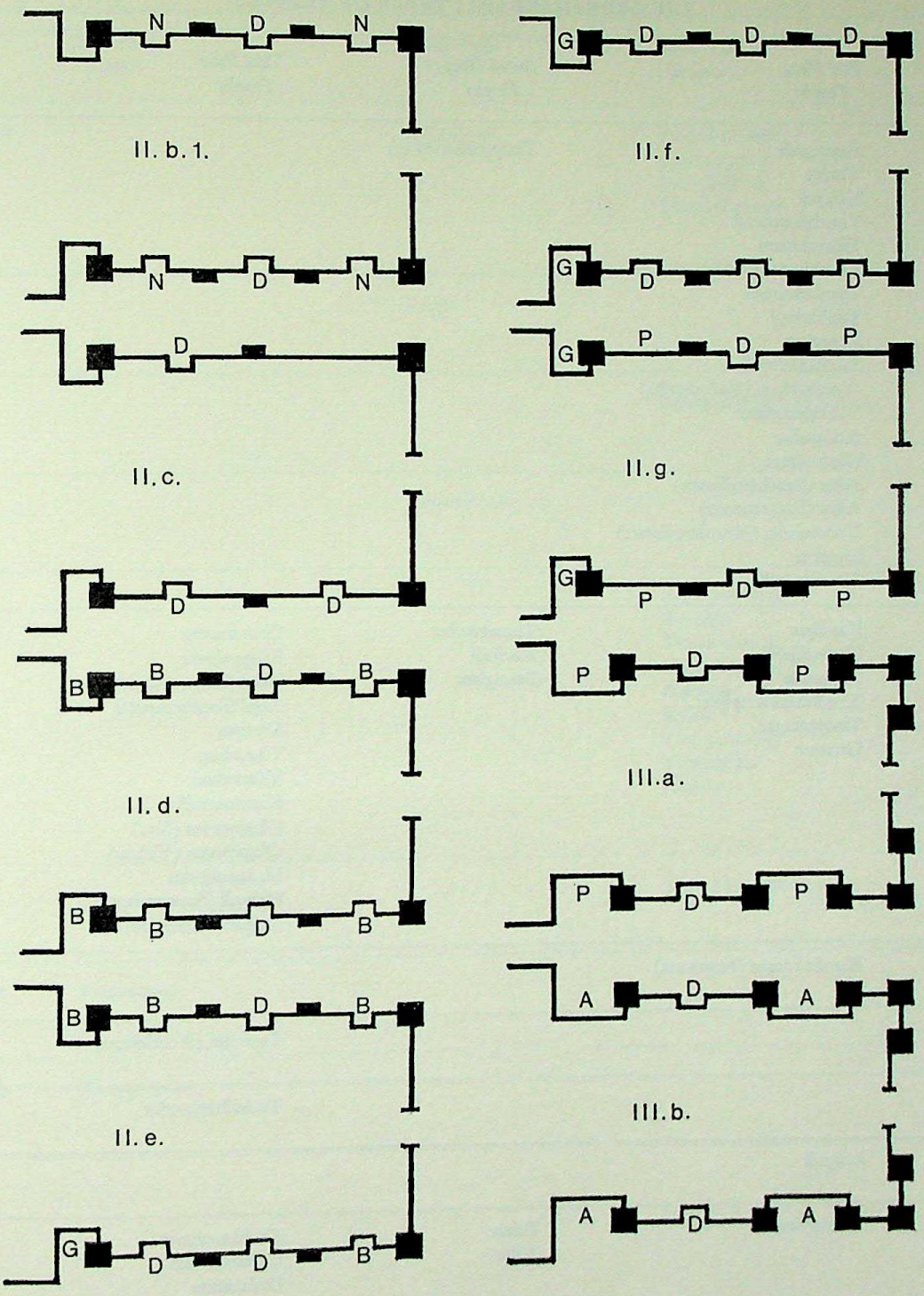

Fig 4. The Ardhamandapa

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APPENDIX

THE ARDHAMANDAPA: TABLE OF TEMPLES

Form	*First Phase Temples*	*Second Phase Temples*	*Third Phase Temples*
I.a	Panangudi Viralur Kilaiyur Tiruchchendurai Tillaisthanam Tiruvaiyaru (Panchanadisvara) Tiruchchatturai Tirukkattali Kannanur Tirukkattuppalli Alambakkam (Kailasanatha) Valikandapuram Andanallur Nangavaram Allur (Panchanadisvara) Allur (Pasupatisvara) Kodumbalur (Mucukundisvara) Erumbur Tirunamanallur	Tiruppunturutti (?)	
I.b	Kandiyur Tiruvedikudi Takkolam Tiruchchennampundi Tiruppalturai Gramam	Tiruverumbur Koviladi Perangiyur	Tiruvamattur Kilappaluvur Nalur-Tirumeyjnanam Koyil Tevarayanpettai Turaiyur Tiruvallam Velachcheri Kamarasavalli Olagapuram (Siva) Olagapuram (Vishnu) Madagadipattu Melpadi (Somanathesvara) Melpadi (Colesvara)
I.c	Kumbakonam (Nagesvara)		
I.d			Tiruvarur (Achalesvara)
I.e			Tiruvidaimarudur
II.a	Lalgudi		
II.b	Srinivasanallur	Bahur Kilur	Tirukkuruhavur Gandaradittam Dadapuram

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APPENDIX

Form	*First Phase Temples*	*Second Phase Temples*	*Third Phase Temples*
II.b.1		Udaiyargudi	Vriddhachalam Govindaputtur Tiruvilakkudi Tiruvandarkoyil
II.c		Punjai	
II.d			Tiruvaiyaru (Uttara Kailasa)
II.e		Tiruvaduturai	
II.f			Konerirajapuram Anangur Tirukkodikaval Sembiyan Mahadevi Aduturai Kuhur Tirunagesvaram Tirunaraiyur Kuttalam
II.g			Tiruppurambiyam
III.a	Pullamangai		
III.b	Tiruppalanam		

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AGASTYA — A sage, who is said to have come to South India from the north. He is represented bearded and with a pot-belly

ALINGANA — A form of Siva in which the god is represented embracing Parvati, his consort

ANDHAKA — A form of Siva in which the god impales the demon Andhaka on the end of his spear

APPAR — One of the sixty-three Saiva saints

ARDHANARI — A form of Siva in which the right half of his body is male and the left half female. This form symbolizes the union of the god with Parvati, his consort

BHAIRAVA — A fierce form of Siva, in which the god is represented naked with matted locks and wearing a garland of skulls

BHIKSHATANA — A form of Siva in which the god is represented as a naked mendicant

BHUDEVI — One of the two consorts of Vishnu

BRAHMA — The first member of the Hindu triad, whose principal function is creation. Represented with four heads, only three of which are usually visible, and four hands holding a water-pot and rosary, he occupies the north devakoshtha of the vimana

CANDESVARA — One of the parivaradevatas. A devotee of Siva and appointed by him as seneschal of his household. All transactions in the temple are made in his name. His emblem is an axe

CANDRA — The Moon God and one of the parivaradevatas

DAKSHINAMURTI — A very popular form of Siva in which the god is represented in philosophical meditation under a banyan tree. He usually occupied the south devakoshtha of the vimana

DURGA — A fierce form of Parvati, in which she is often represented as killing the buffalo demon, Mahishasura. This form usually occupies a north devakoshtha of the ardhamandapa

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GAJASURA	A form of Siva in which having killed a demon elephant he is represented standing on the elephant's head and draped with its skin
GANESA	One of the parivaradevatas. The eldest son of Siva and Parvati, he is represented with an elephant's head, pot-belly and four arms. He also occupies a south devakoshtha of the ardhamandapa
GANGA	The goddess of the great river of North India
GANGADHARA	A form of Siva in which he filters the powerful fall of the Ganga through his matted hair so that it may flow gently on the earth
GARUDA	The vehicle of Vishnu. He is usually represented with beak-shaped nose and wings
HARIHARA	A composite form of Siva and Vishnu in which the right half of the god's body represents Siva and the left Vishnu. Each god carries his own emblems
INDRA	The god of storms and guardian of the east. He is represented riding an elephant
JYESTHA	One of the parivaradevatas. Said to be the elder sister of Lakshmi, she is represented with big belly and pendant breasts
KALAHARA	A form of Siva in which the god rescues his devotee Markandeya from Kala, the god of death
KALYANASUNDARA	The marriage of Siva and Parvati in the presence of Vishnu, Lakshmi, who acts as bridesmaid, and Brahma, who tends the sacred fire
KANKALA	A form of Siva resembling that of Bhikshatana but with the god clothed and usually beating a drum
KARTTIKEYA (*also called Subrahmanya or Skanda*)	One of the parivaradevatas. The second son of Siva and Parvati, he is the god of war. Among his emblems are a spear, a thunderbolt and a cock
KRISHNA	An incarnation of Vishnu. One of the most popular forms is that in which the boy Krishna dances on the head of the subdued serpent Kaliya
LAKSHMI	Another name of Sridevi, one of the two consorts of Vishnu
LINGODBHAVA	A form of Siva in which the god bursts from the linga whose base and summit Vishnu and Brahma vainly seek to discover. This form usually occupies a west or east devakoshtha of the vimana
NANDI	The bull vehicle of Siva

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NARASIMHA	An incarnation of Vishnu, in which the god, with lion's head, disembowels a demon king
NATARAJA	Siva as Lord of the Dance. There are several forms but the most popular in South India is the Nataraja in ananda-tandava pose where the weight of the dancing god rests on the flexed right leg while the left is raised and pointed across the body
PARIVARADEVATAS	The minor deities which usually occupy subsidiary shrines around the temple. They are Surya, the Saptamatrikas, Ganesa, Karttikeya, Jyestha, Candra and Candesvara
PARVATI	The consort of Siva
SAMBANDAR	One of the sixty-three Saiva saints
SAPTAMATRIKAS	The Seven Mothers, grouped with the parivaradevatas. They are Brahmi (consort of Brahma), Mahesvari (consort of Siva), Kumari (consort of Karttikeya), Vaishnavi (consort of Vishnu), Varahi (consort of Varaha), Indrani (consort of Indra) and Camunda (consort of Yama)
SARASVATI	The consort of Brahma and patron of the arts and learning
SIVA	The third member of the Hindu triad and the most widely worshipped in South India not only in various human forms but as the phallus (linga) enshrined in the vimana of the temple
SRIDEVI	One of the two consorts of Vishnu
SURYA	The Sun God and one of the parivaradevatas. He is represented in South India as holding lotuses in both hands at shoulder level
TRIPURANTAKA	A form of Siva in which the god destroyed three demons who combined to defy the gods
VARAHA	An incarnation of Vishnu, in which the god, with boar's head, brings up the submerged goddess of the earth from the primeval ocean
VINADHARA DAKSHINAMURTI	A form of Siva as Dakshinamurti in which the god holds a vina
VISHNU	The second member of the Hindu triad, whose principal function is the protection of the Universe. He is represented with four arms and holds a discus, conch-shell and club. He occupies the west devakoshtha of the vimana
VRSVAHANA	A form of Siva in which the god, sometimes accompanied by Parvati, is represented leaning against Nandi

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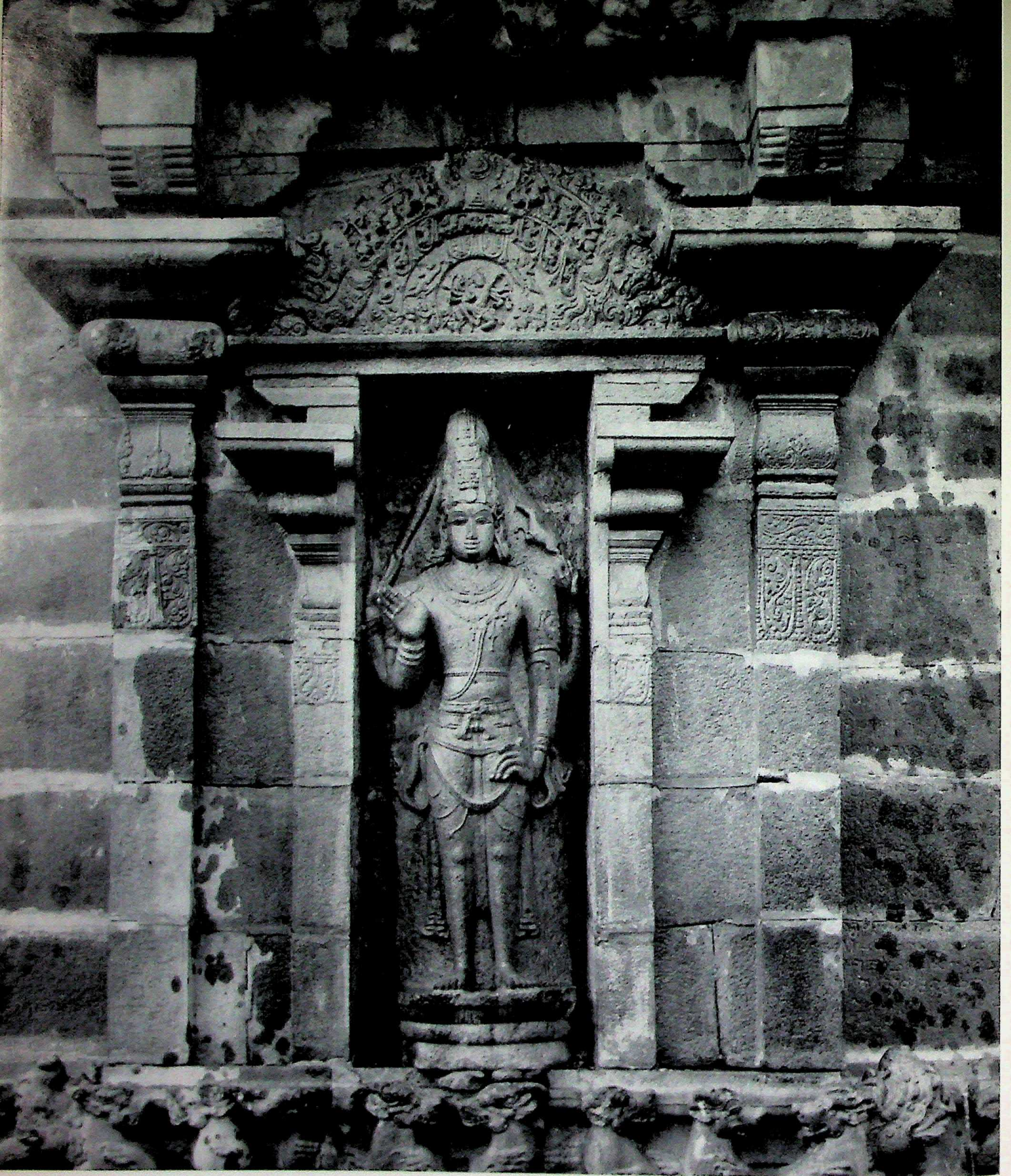
1. Lion-pillar. In the Pundarikaksha Temple at Tiruvellarai. First Phase *See page 33*



2. Agastyesvara Temple at Kilaiyur. First Phase *See pages 50–1*

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3. Agastyesvara Temple at Kilaiyur. First Phase *See pages 50–1*

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4. Colisvara Temple at Kilaiyur. First Phase *See page 51*

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6. Jalanatheswara Temple at Takkolam. First Phase *See page 65*

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10. Nagesvara Temple at Kumbakonam. First Phase *See pages 68–9*

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11. Nagesvara Temple at Kumbakonam. First Phase *See pages 68–9*

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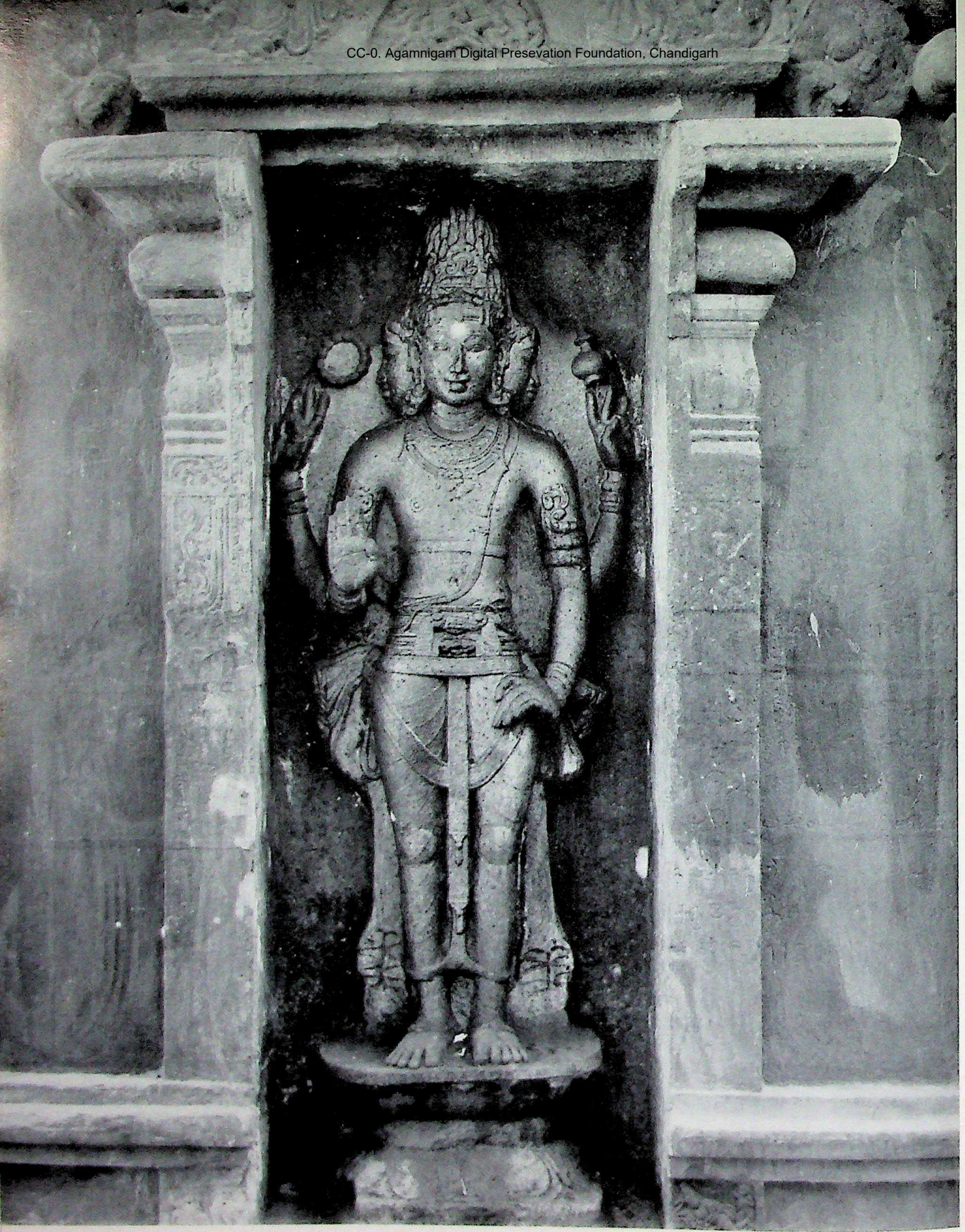

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14. Dvarapala in the Tiru-Alandurai-Mahadeva Temple at Kilappaluvur. First Phase *See page 71*

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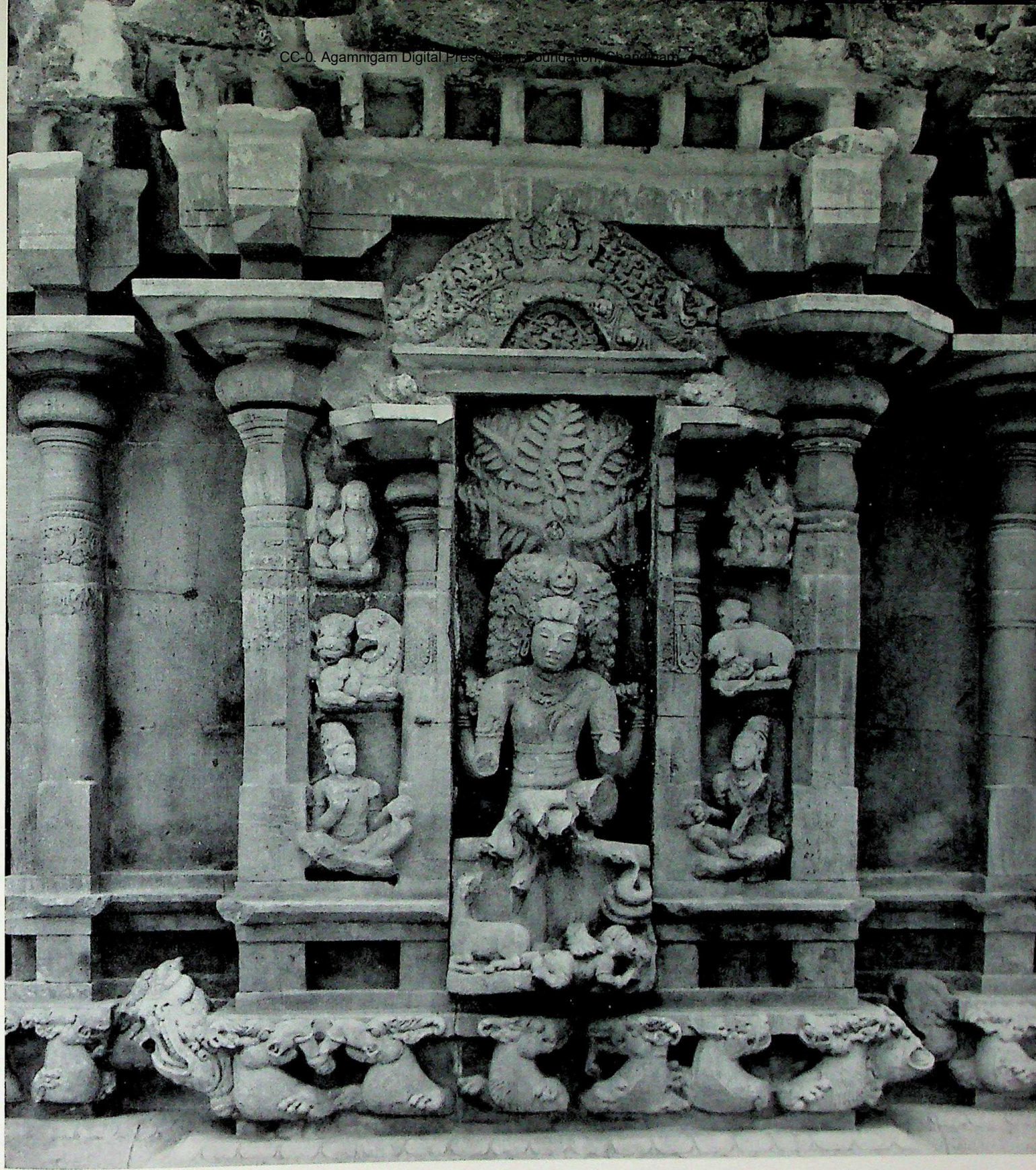

15. Koranganatha Temple at Srinivasanallur. First Phase *See page 74*

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16. Koranganatha Temple at Srinivasanallur. First Phase *See page 75*

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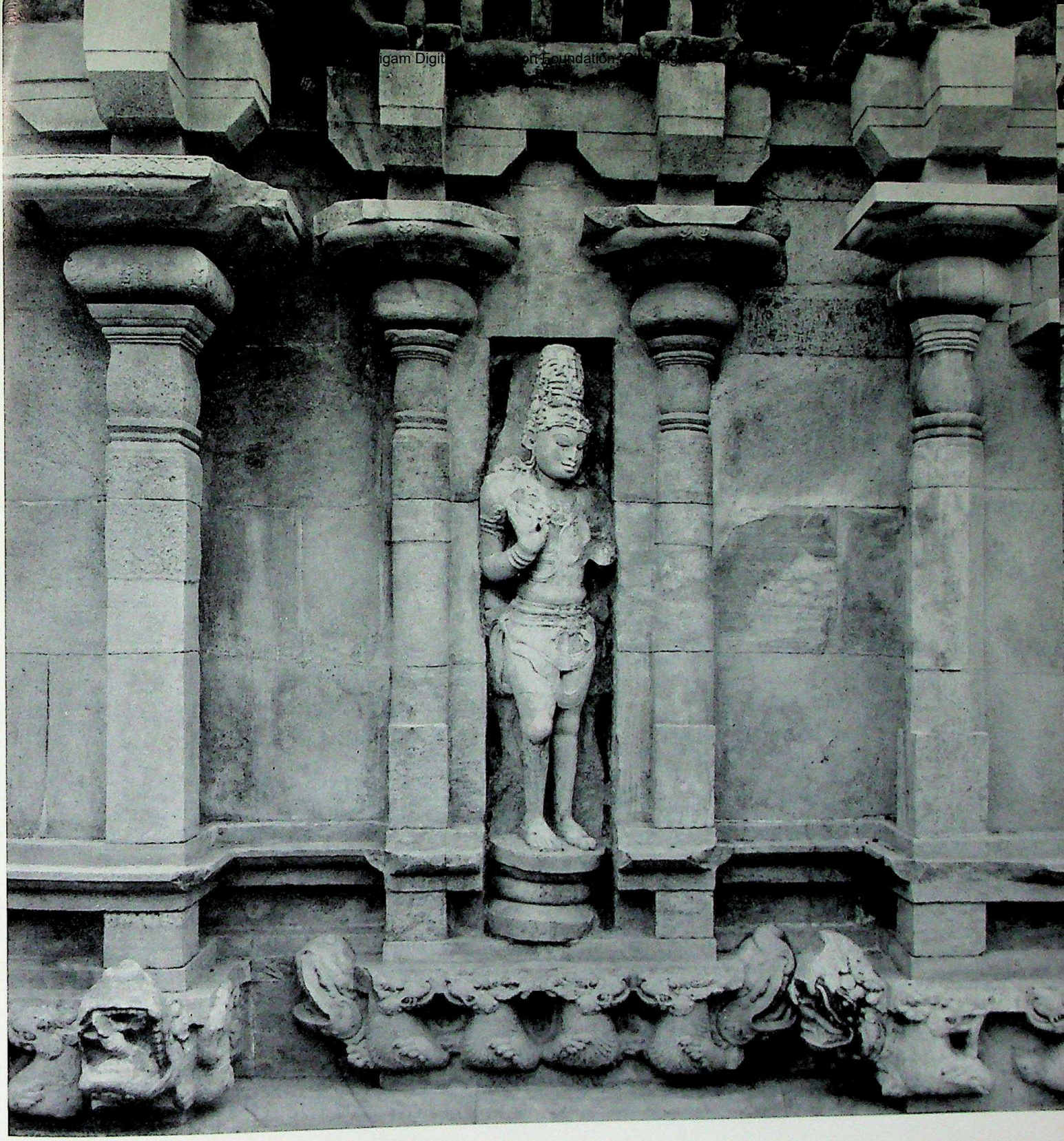

17. Koranganatha Temple at Srinivasanallur. First Phase *See page 75*

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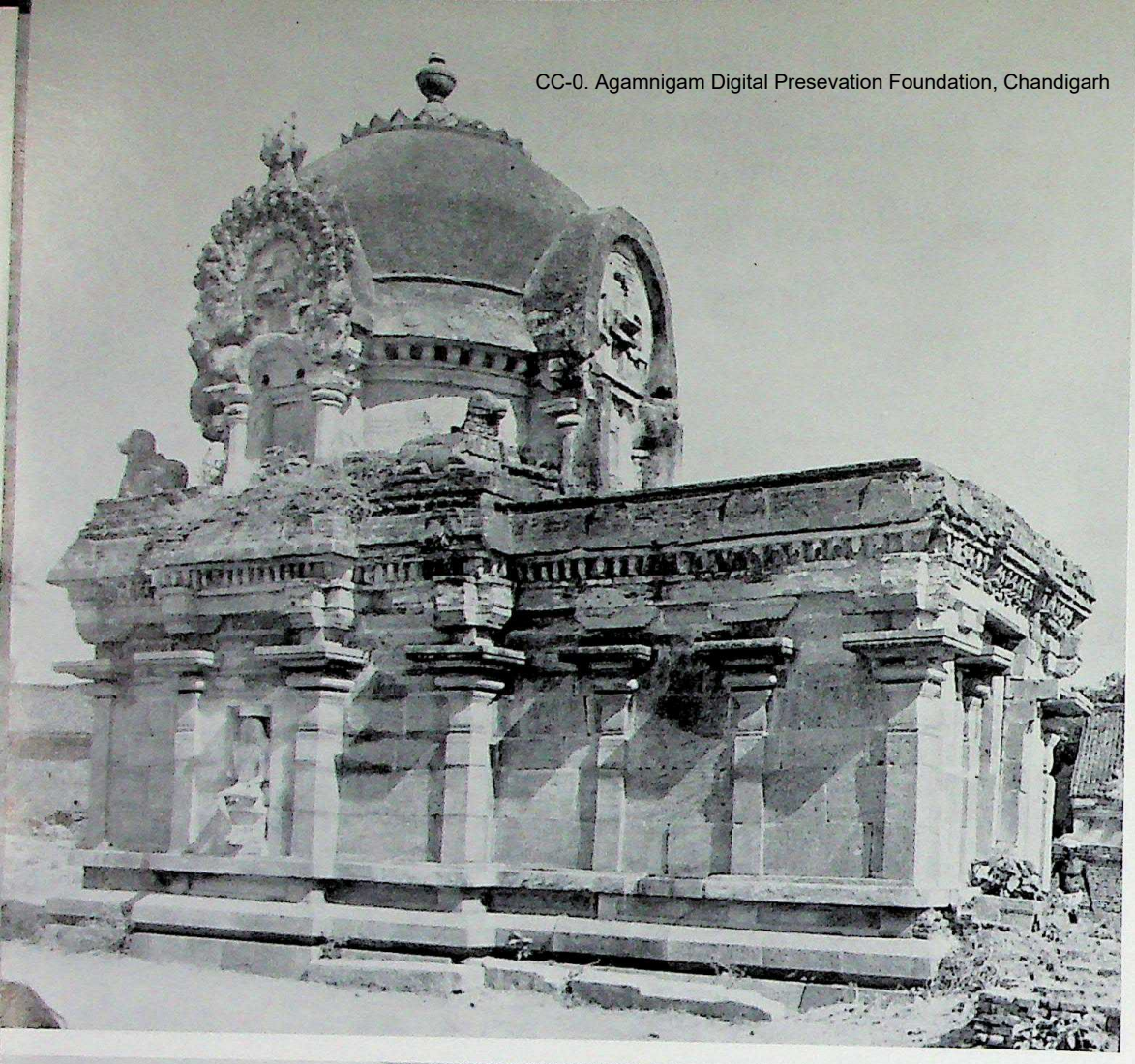

18. (a) Kadambavanesvara Temple at Erumbur. First Phase *See pages 75–6*

(b) Tiruttondisvara Temple at Tirunamanallur. First Phase *See page 76*

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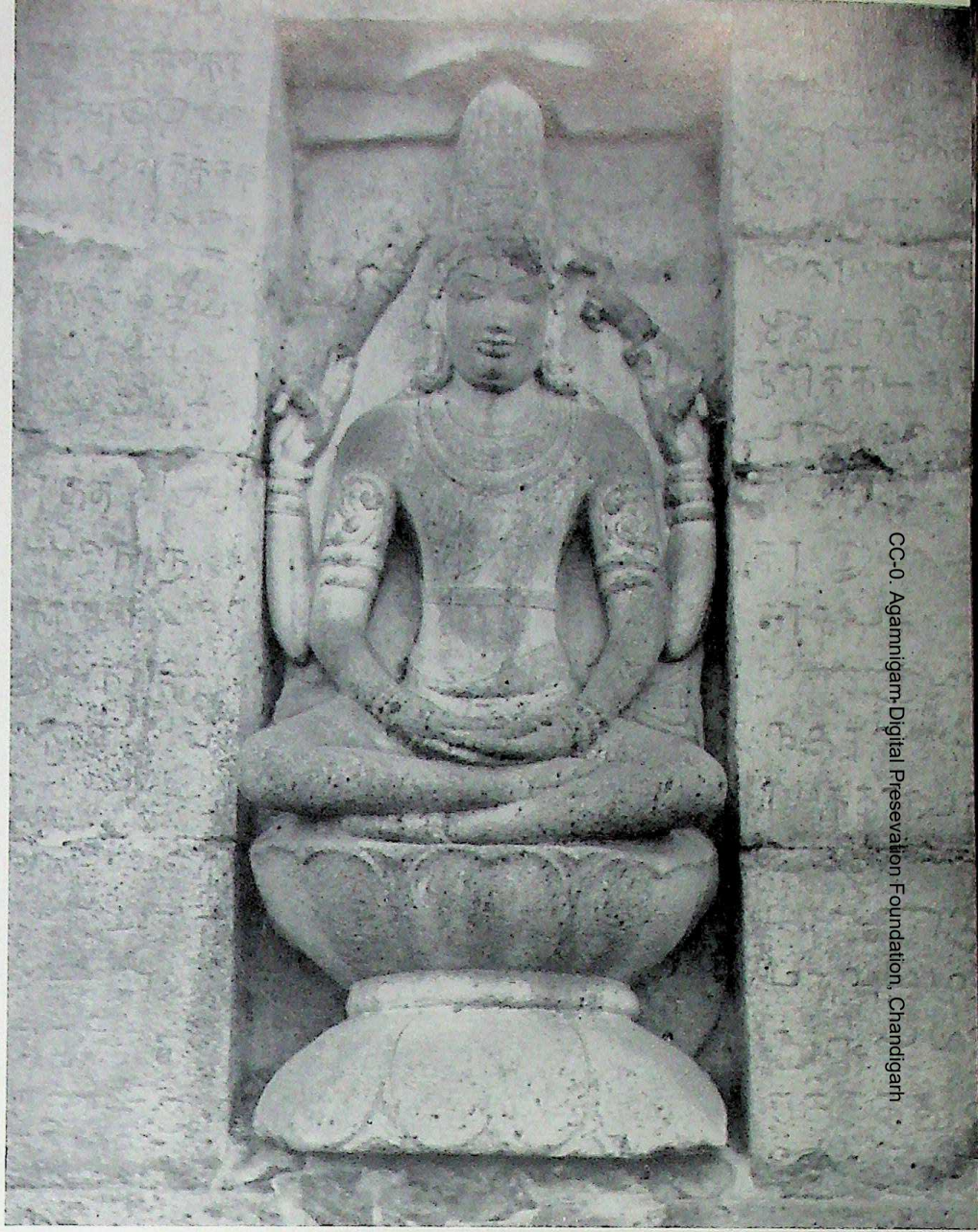
19. Kadambavanesvara Temple at Erumbur. First Phase *See pages 75–6*

20. (a) Kadambavanesvara Temple at Erumbur. First Phase *See pages 75–6*



(b) Kadambavanesvara Temple at Erumbur. First Phase *See pages 75–6*

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21. (a) Kadambavanesvara Temple at Erumbur. First Phase *See pages 75–6*

(b) Sivalokanatha Temple at Gramam. First Phase *See page 77*

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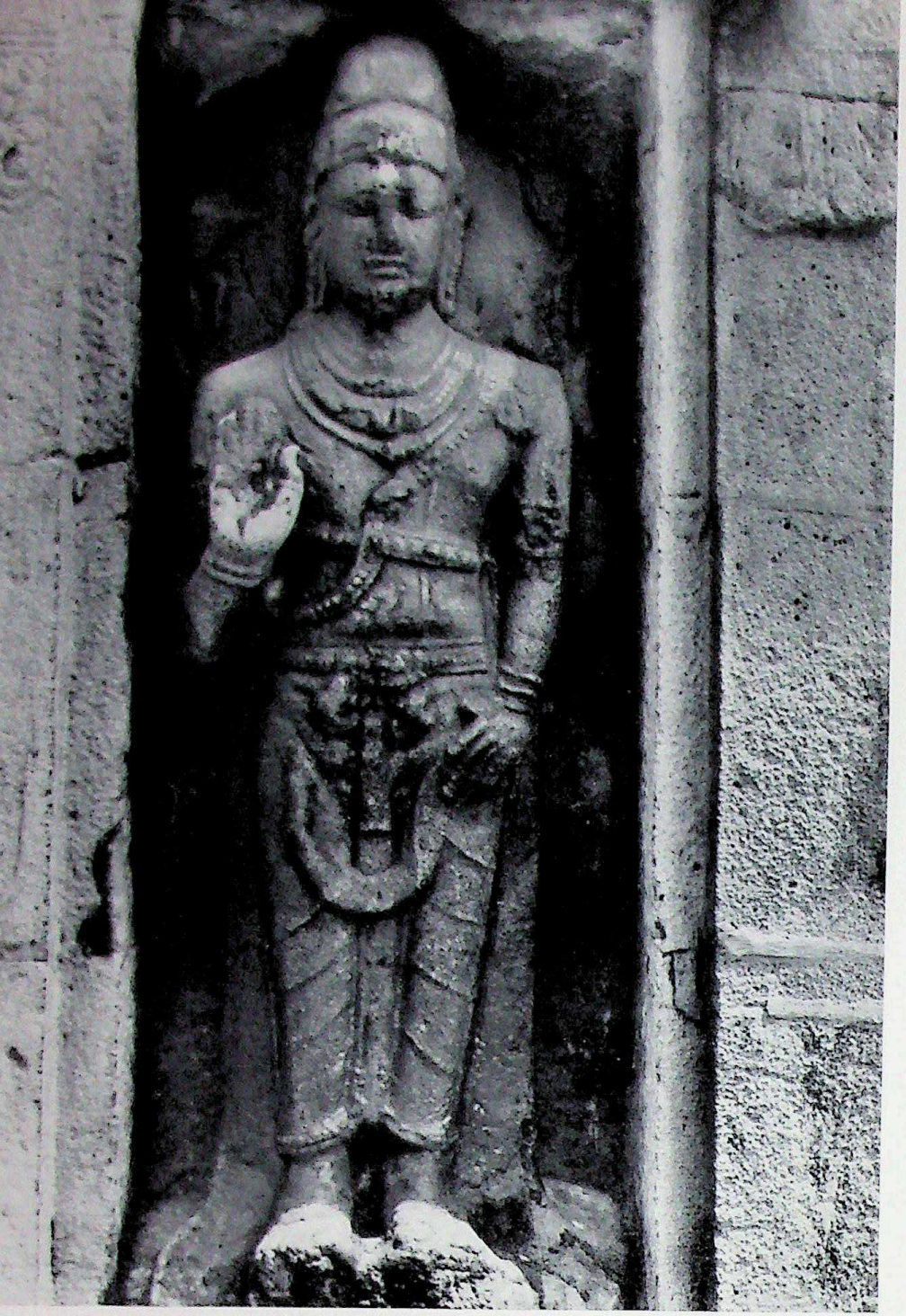
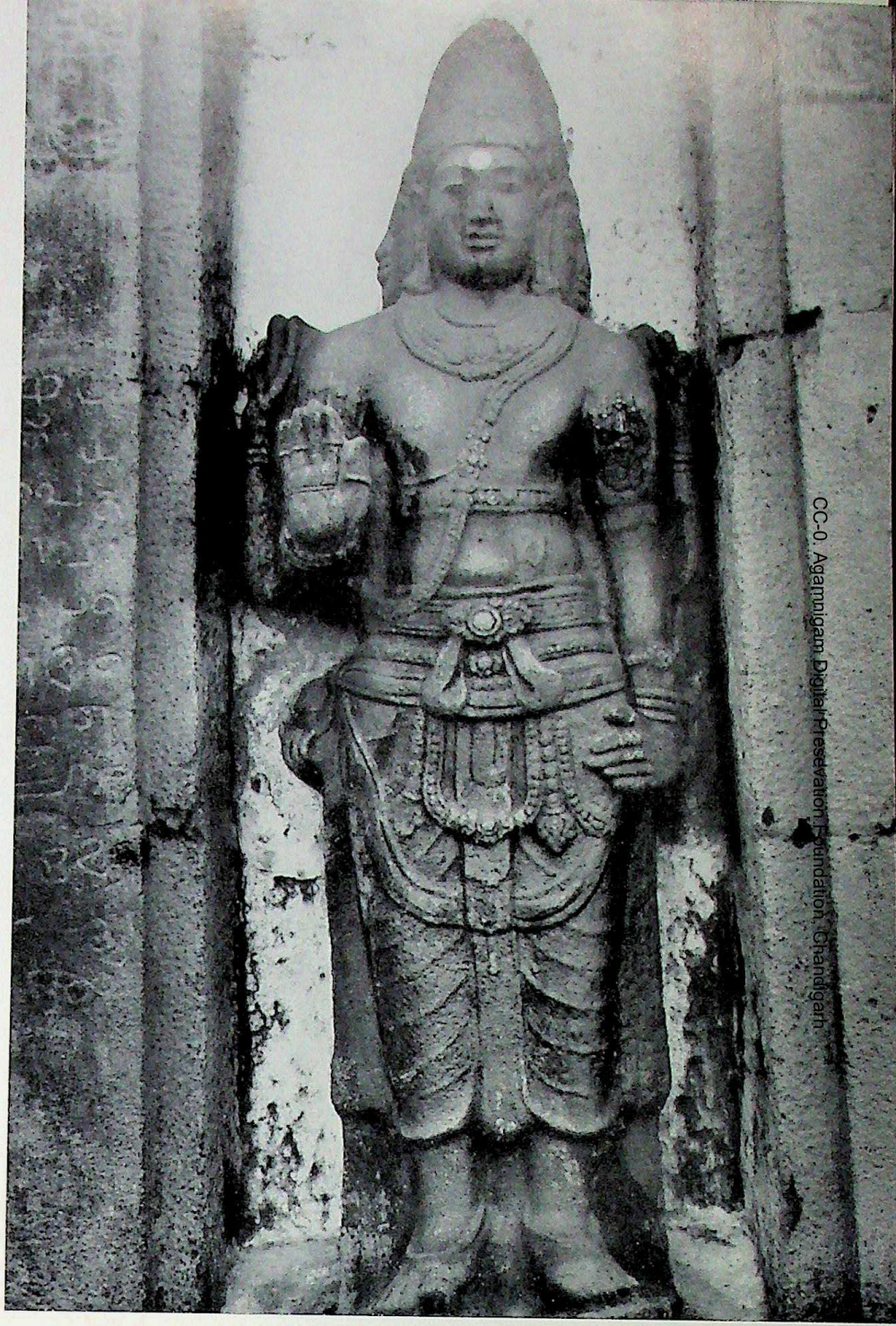


22. (a) Sivalokanatha Temple at Gramam. First Phase *See page 77*



(b) Sivalokanatha Temple at Gramam. First Phase *See page 77*

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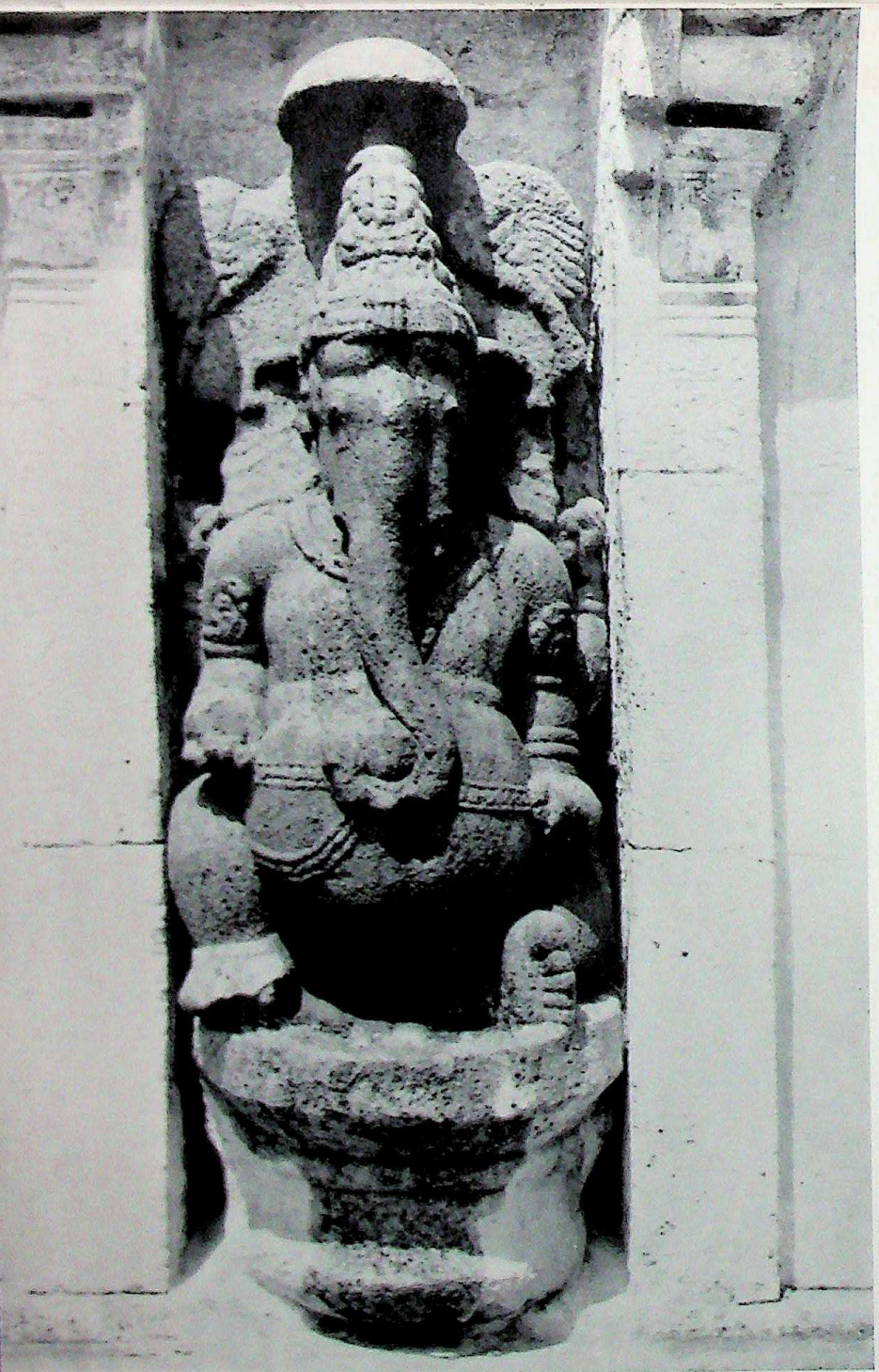
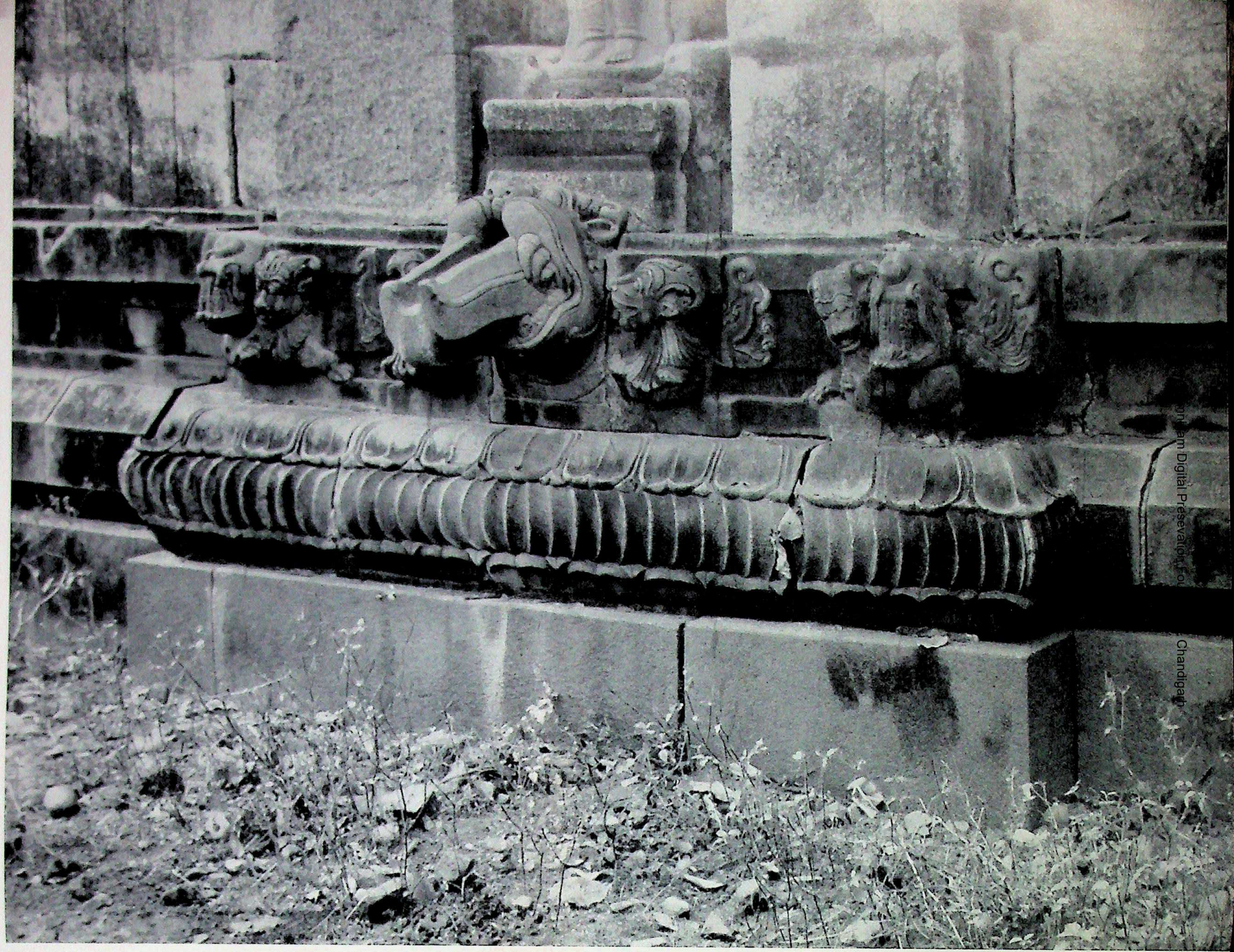


23. (a) Sivalokanatha Temple at Gramam. First Phase *See page 77*

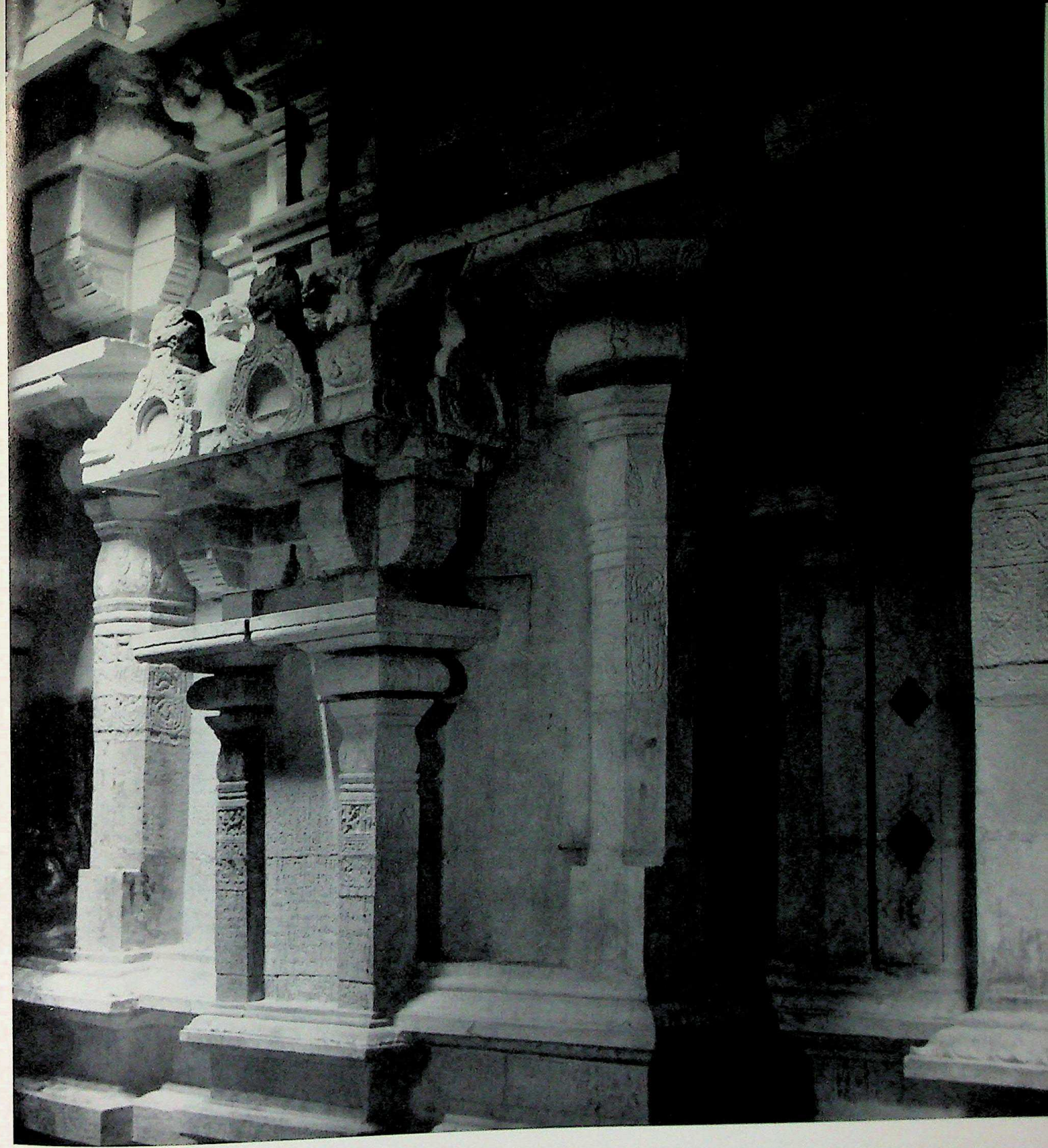
(b) Sivalokanatha Temple at Gramam. First Phase *See page 77*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh



24. Kodandaramesvara Temple at Tondaimanad. First Phase *See page 77*

Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh



25. Gomuktesvara Temple at Tiruvaduturai. Second Phase *See page 79*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digi... Foundation. C...

26. Gomukteswara Temple at Tiruvadutturai. Second Phase *See page 80*

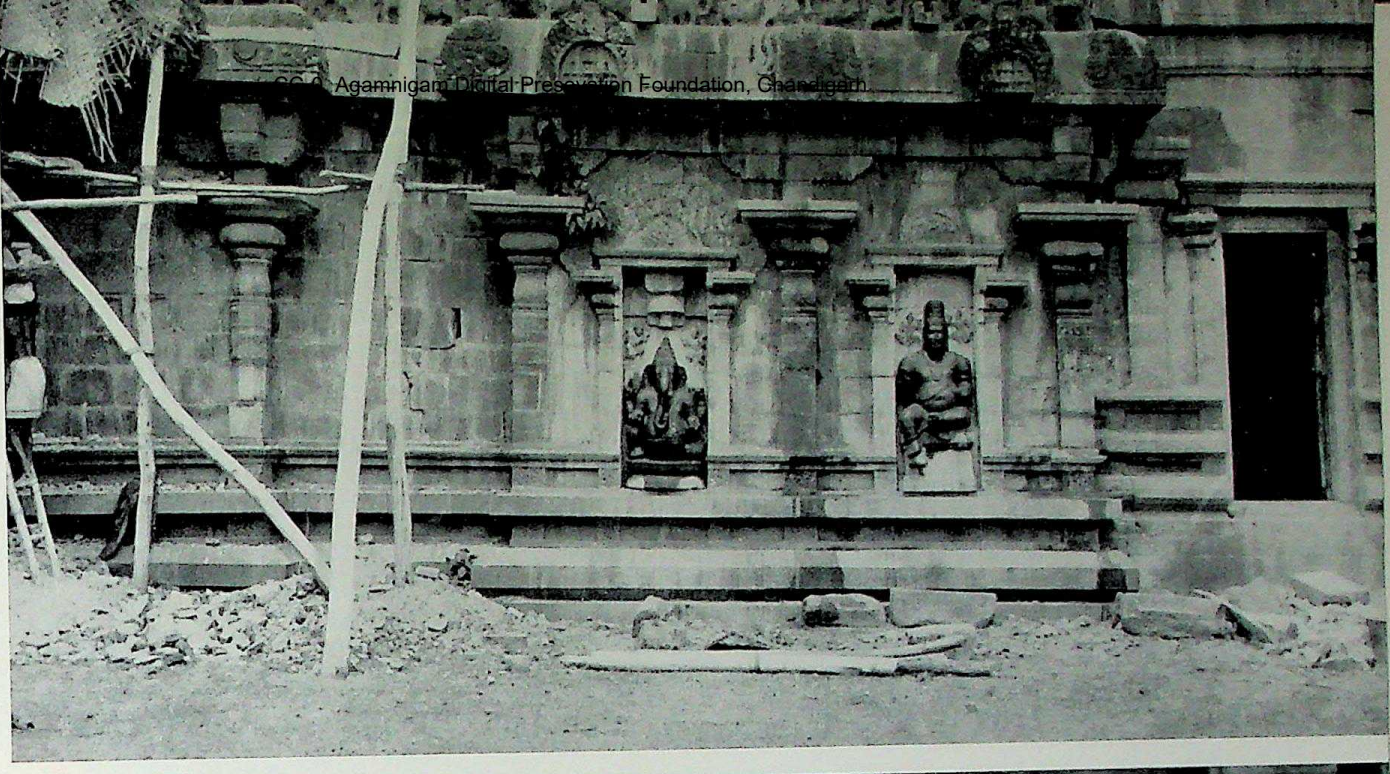
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation

27. Gomuktesvara Temple at Tiruvadutural. Second Phase *See page 80*

CC-0. Panjab Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

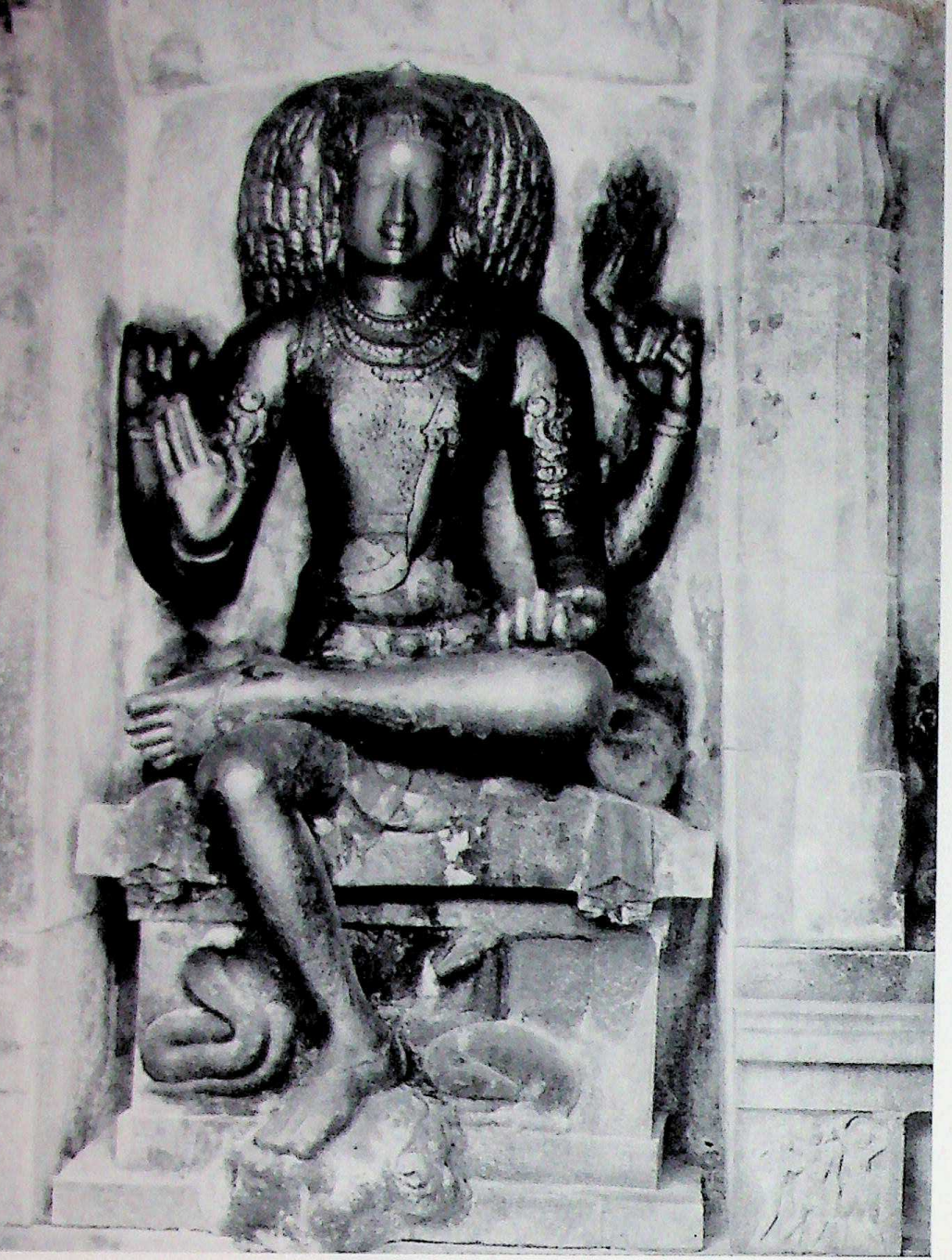
28. Nallunat Isvara Temple at Punjai. Second Phase *See page 82*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

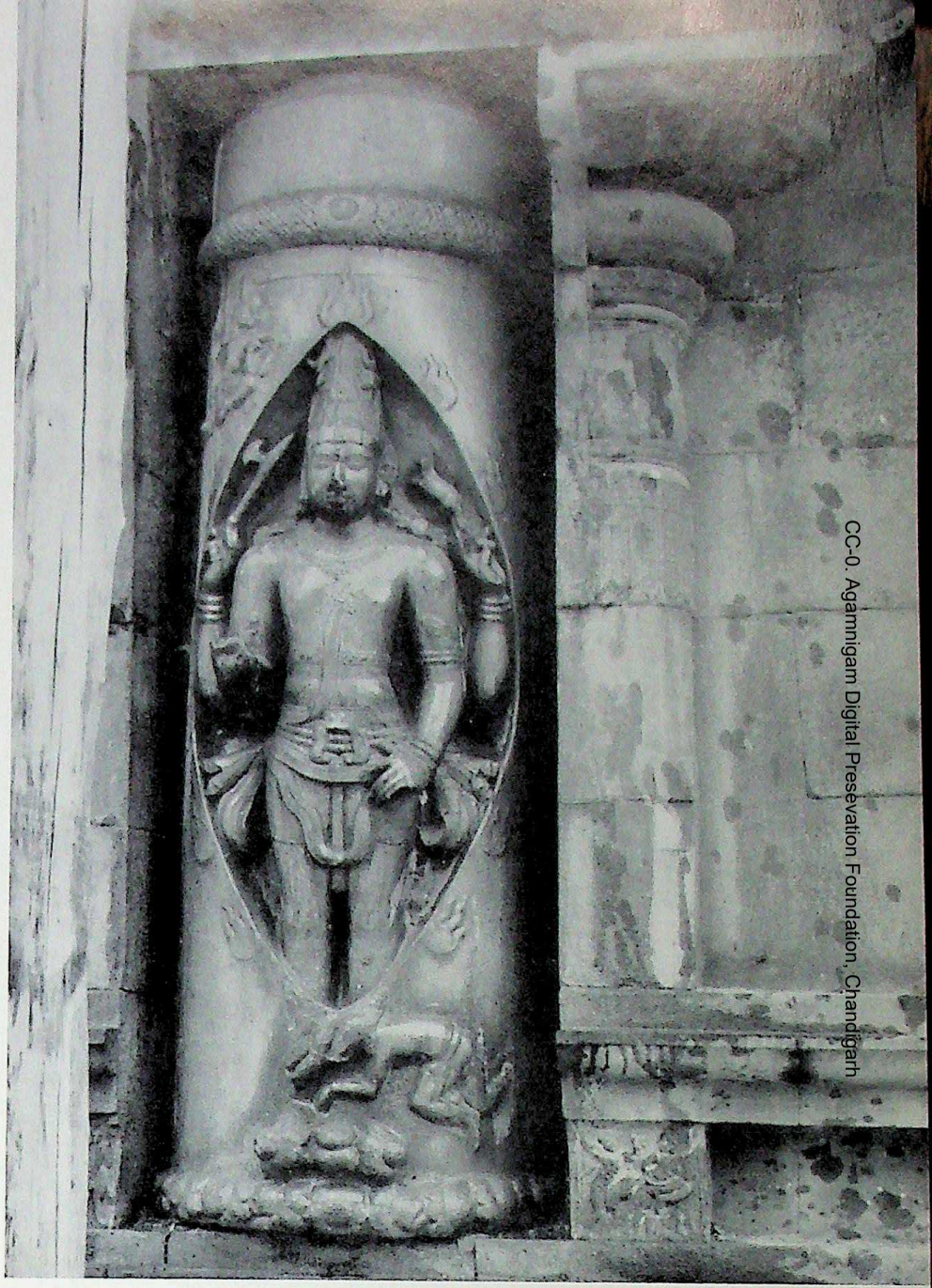


29. (a) Naltunai Isvara Temple at Punjai. Second Phase
See page 81

(b) Naltunai Isvara Temple at Punjai. Second Phase
See page 82

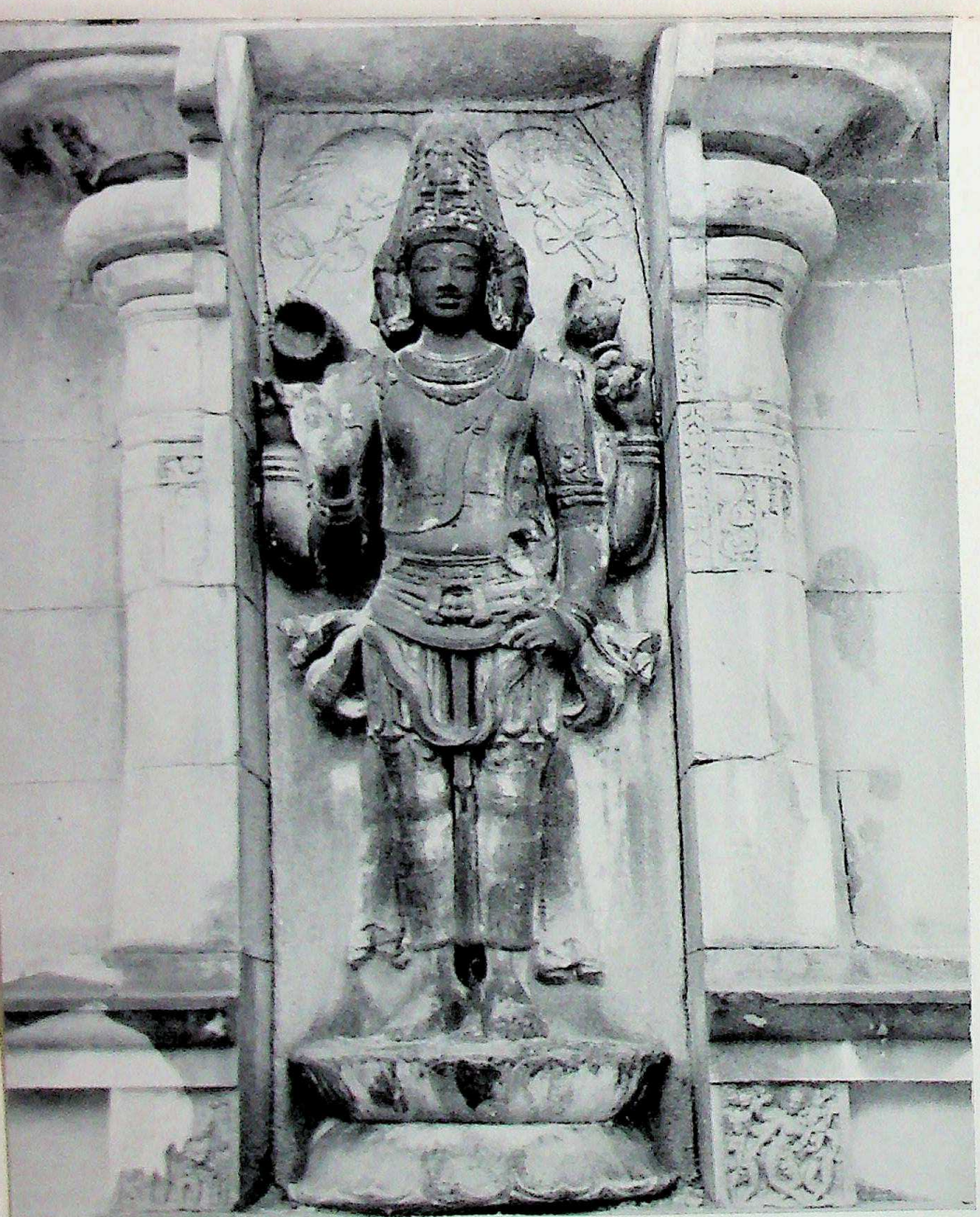


30. (a) Naltunai Isvara Temple at Punjai. Second Phase *See page 82*

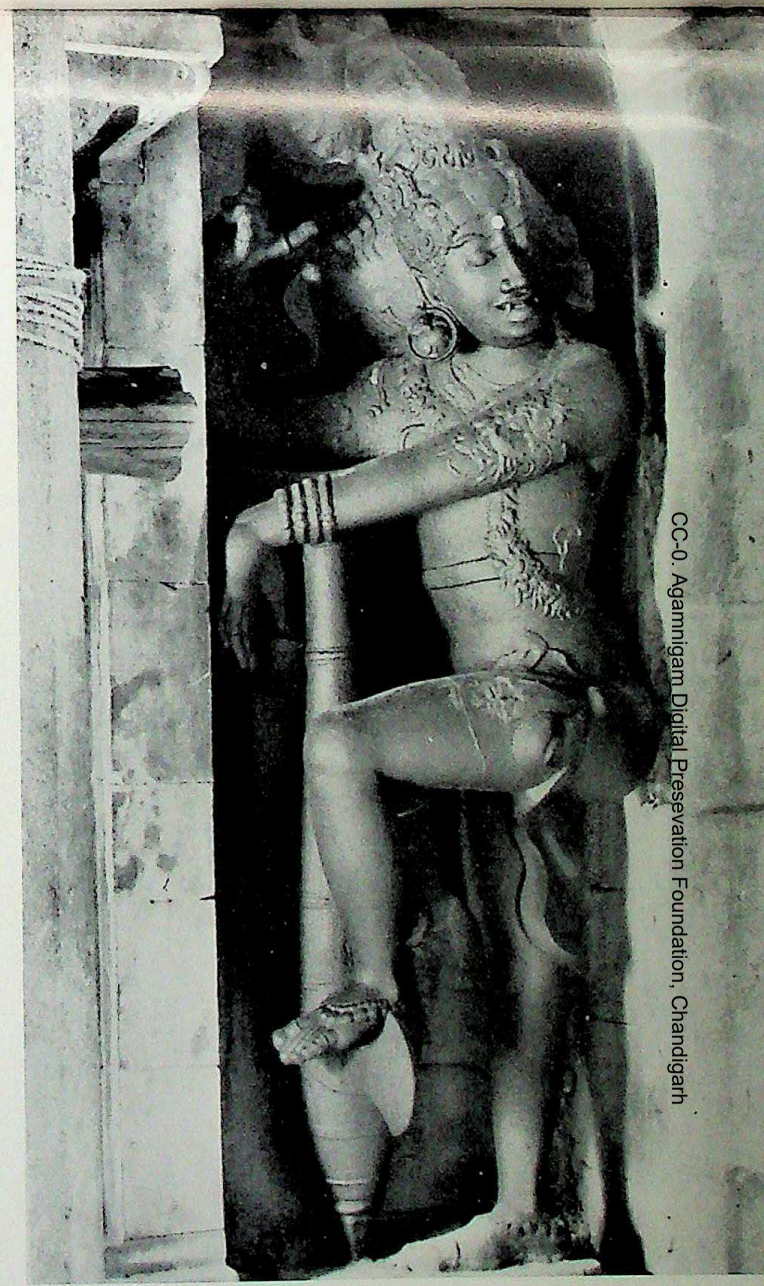


(b) Naltunai Isvara Temple at Punjai. Second Phase *See page 82*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh



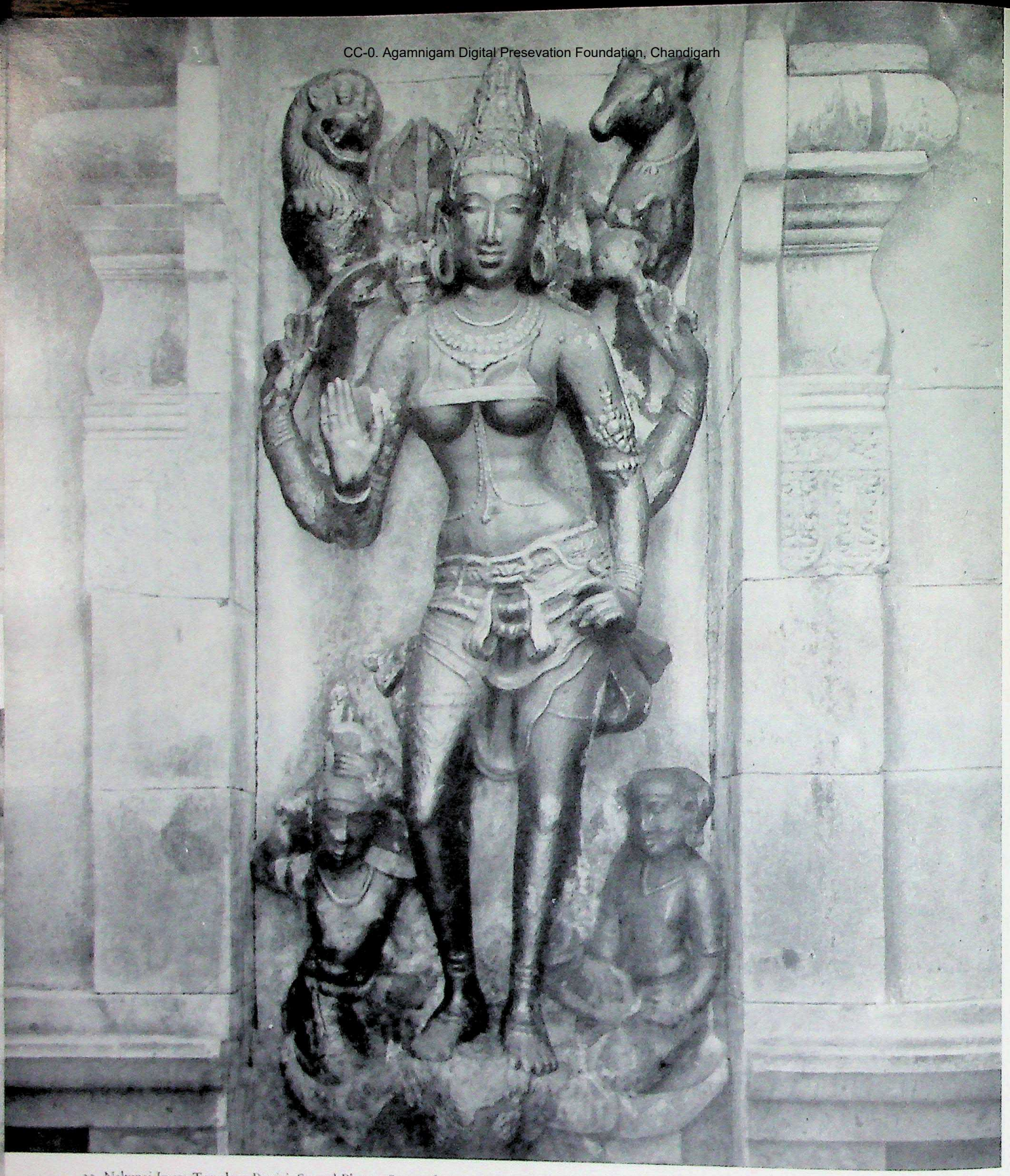
31. (a) Naltunai Isvara Temple at Punjai. Second Phase *See page 82*



(b) Naltunai Isvara Temple at Punjai. Second Phase *See page 82*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

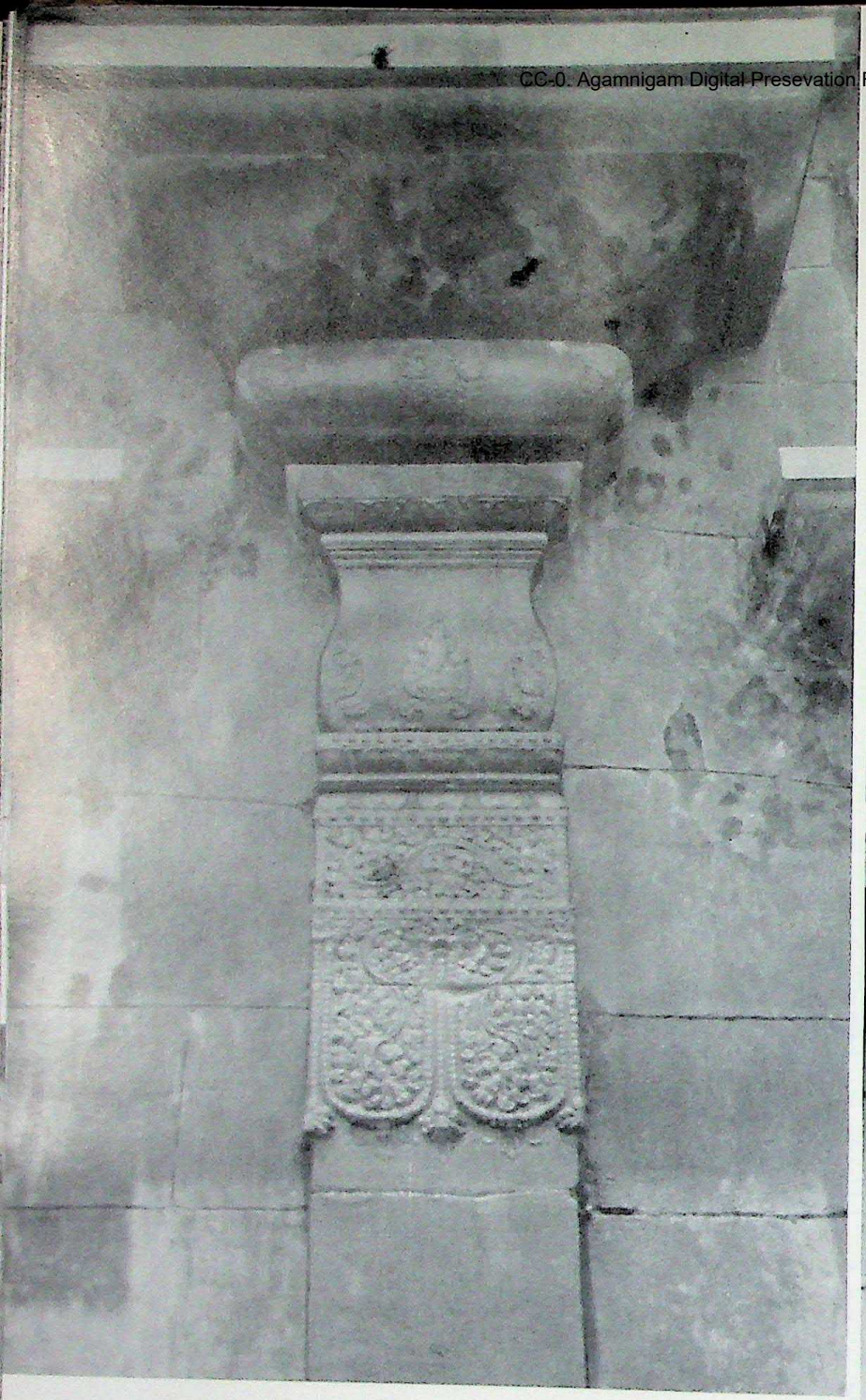


32. Naltunai Isvara Temple at Punjai. Second Phase *See page 82*

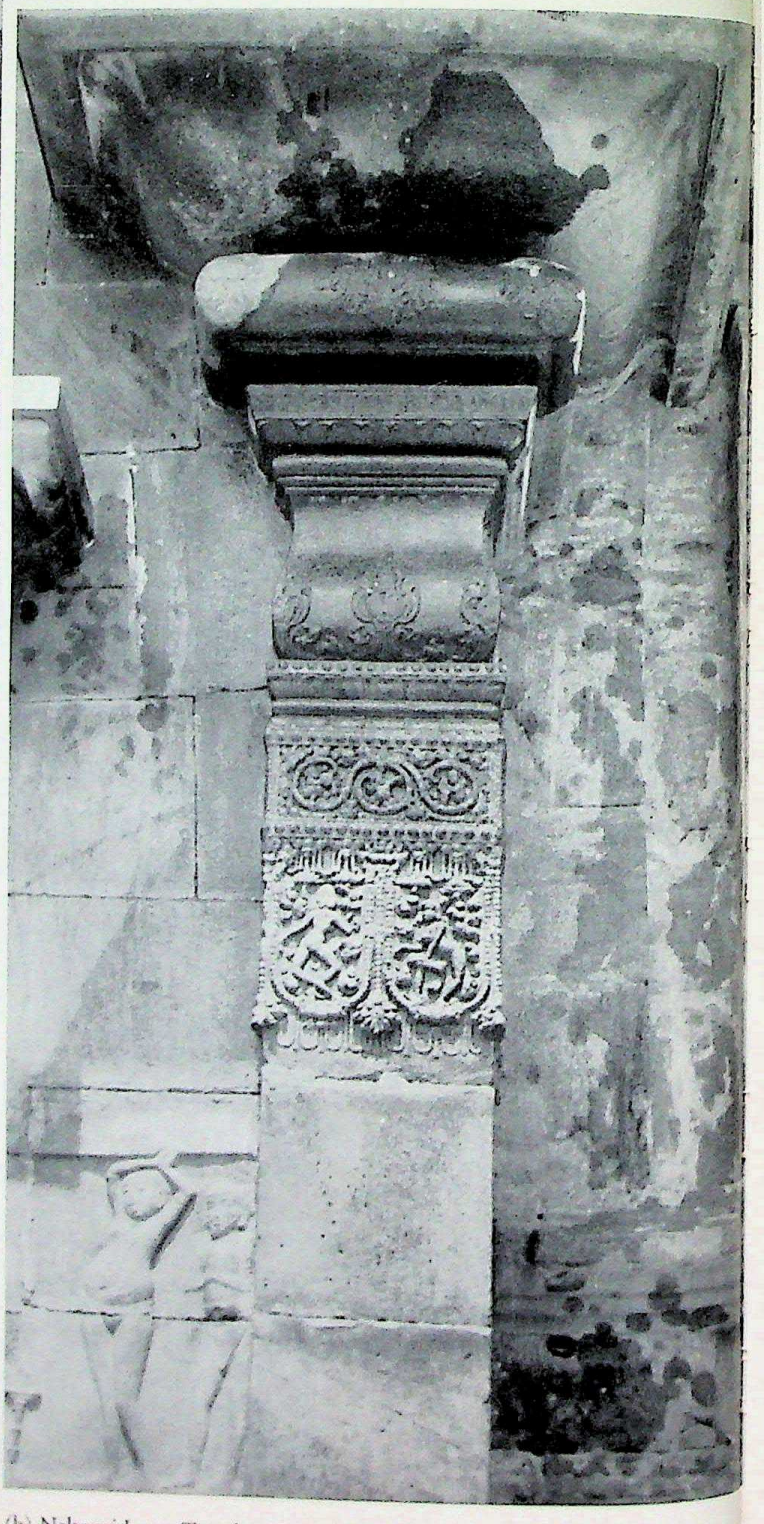
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

33. Naltunai Isvara Temple at Punjai. Second Phase *See page 82*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



34. (a) Naltunai Isvara Temple at Punjai. Second Phase *See page 82*



(b) Naltunai Isvara Temple at Punjai. Second Phase *See page 82*

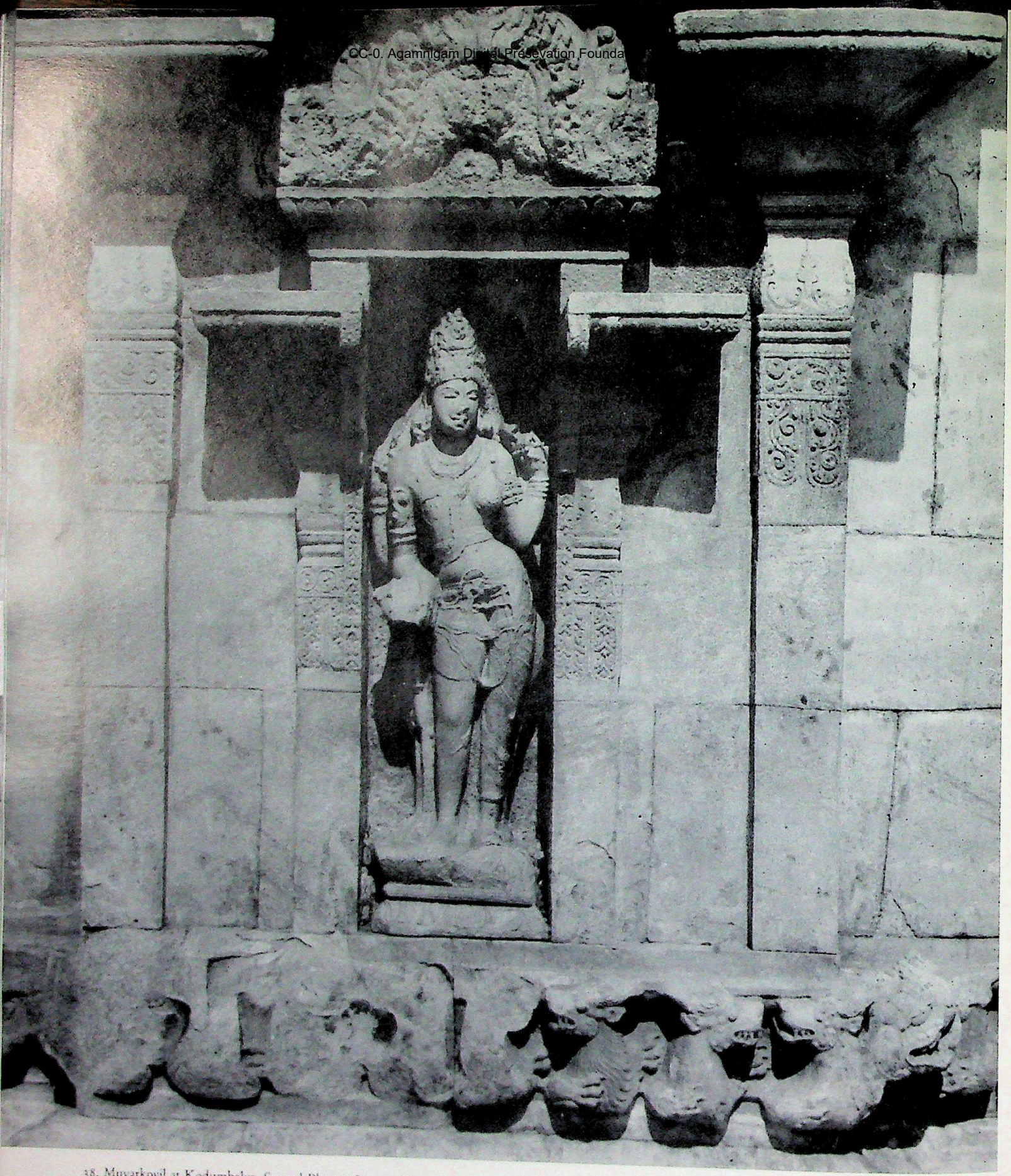
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

36. Karttikeya in the Sundaresvara Temple at Melappaluvur. Second Phase *See page 85*

CC-0. Mumukshu Bhawan Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

37. Muvarkoyil at Kodumbalur. Second Phase *See page 86*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Founda



38. Muvarkoyil at Kodumbalur. Second Phase *See page 86*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

39. Muvarkoyil at Kodumbalur.
Second Phase *See page 86*

CC-0. Agamnig

40. Muvarkoyil at Kodumbalur. Second Phase *See page 86*

CC-0. Agamkumar Digi

41. Muvarkoyil at Kodumbalur. Second Phase *See page 86*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

42. Muvarkoyil at Kodumbalur. Second Phase *See page 86*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

43. Mulesvara Temple at Bahur. Second Phase *See page 87*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

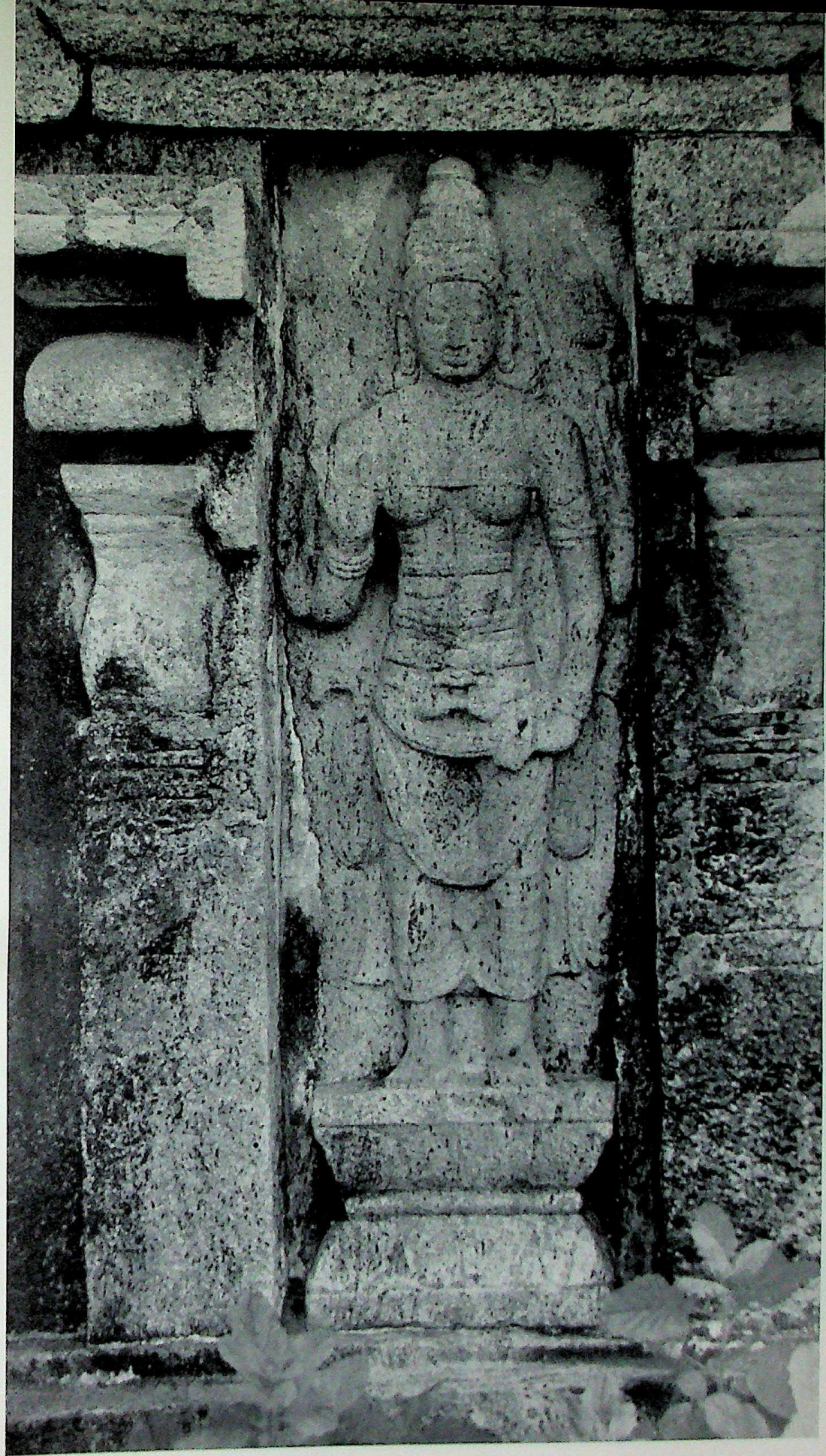
44. Siva Temple at Perangiyur. Second Phase *See page 88*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

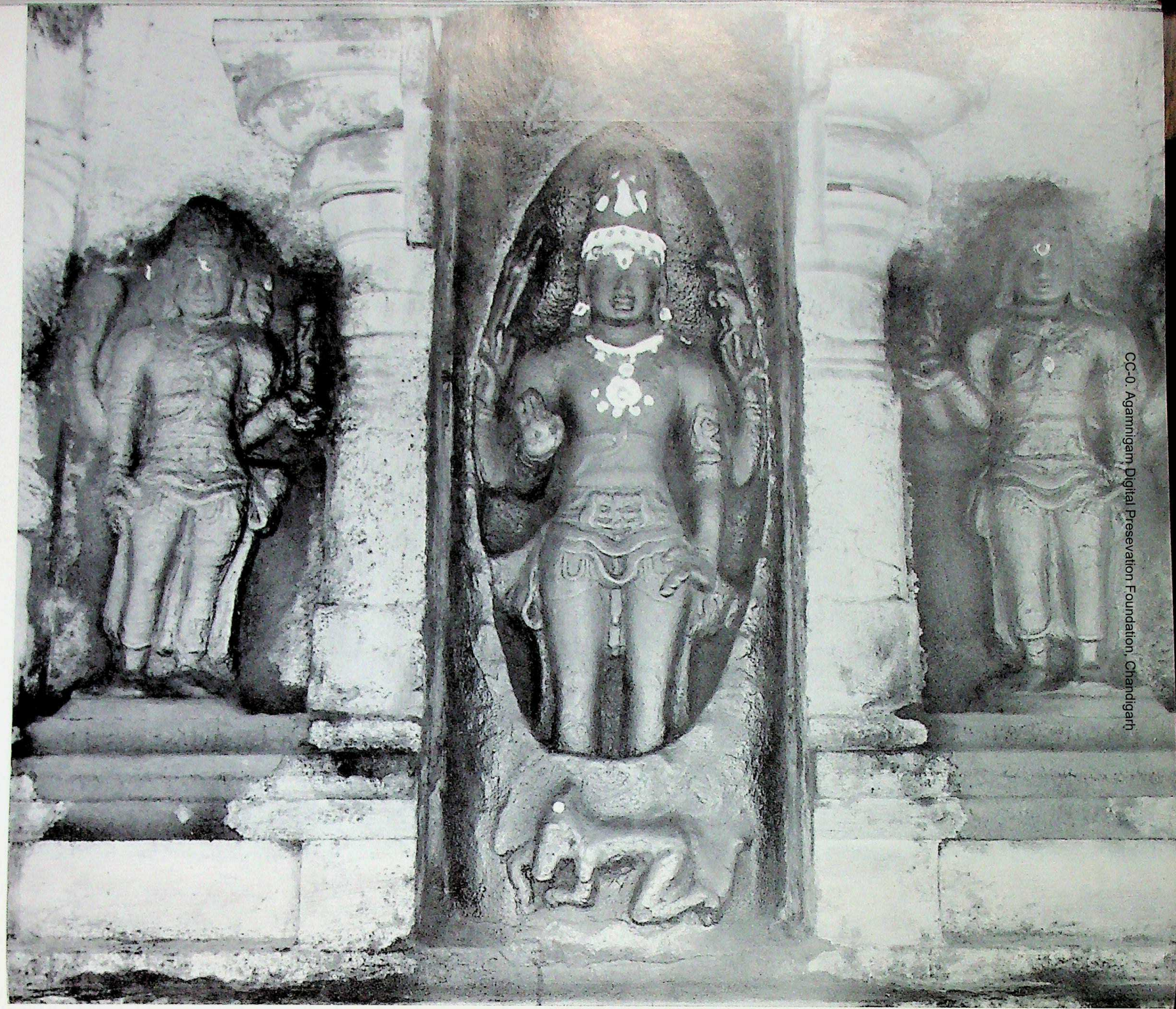
45. Siva Temple at Perangiyur. Second Phase *See page 88*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

46. Siva Temple at Perangiyur. Second Phase *See page 88*



47. Siva Temple at Perangiyur. Second Phase *See page 88*



48. Umamahesvara Temple at Konerirajapuram. Third Phase *See page 91*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

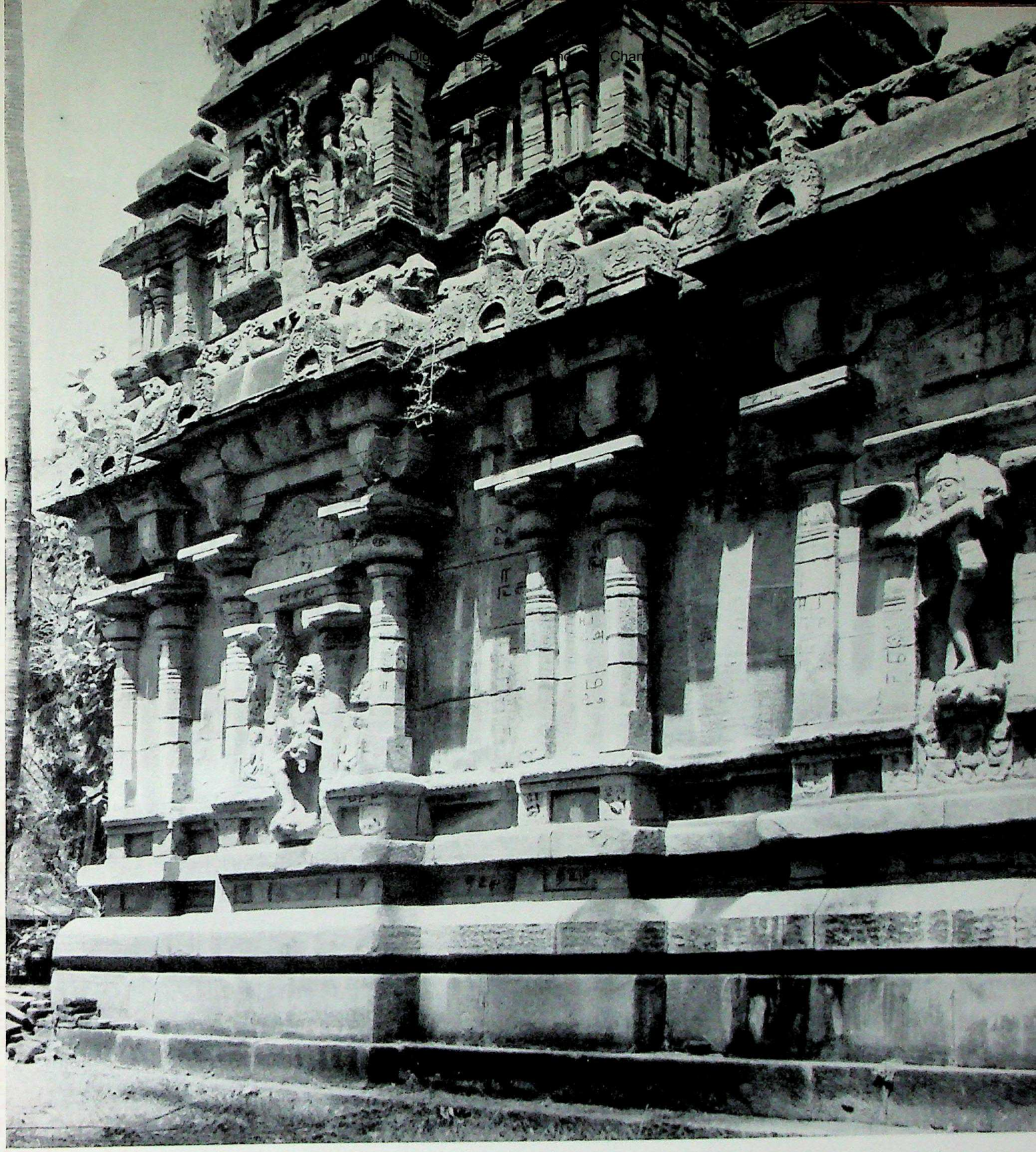
49. (a) Umamahesvara Temple at Konerirajapuram. Third Phase *See page 91*

(b) Umamahesvara Temple at Konerirajapuram. Third Phase *See page 91*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

50. Umamahesvara Temple at Konerirajapuram. Third Phase *See page 91*



51. Agastyesvara Temple at Anangur. Third Phase *See page 92*

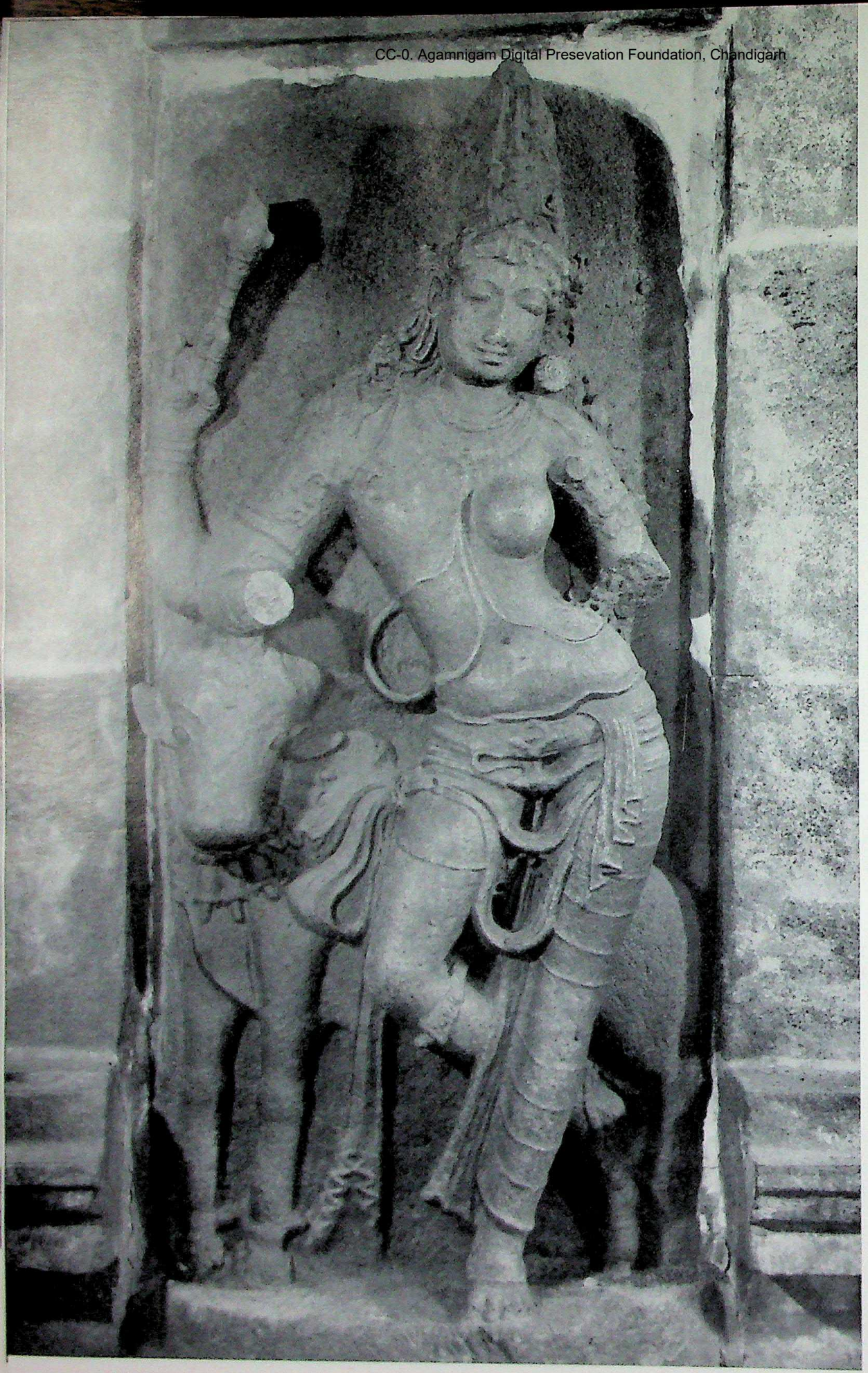
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

52. Agastyesvara Temple at Anangur. Third Phase *See page 93*

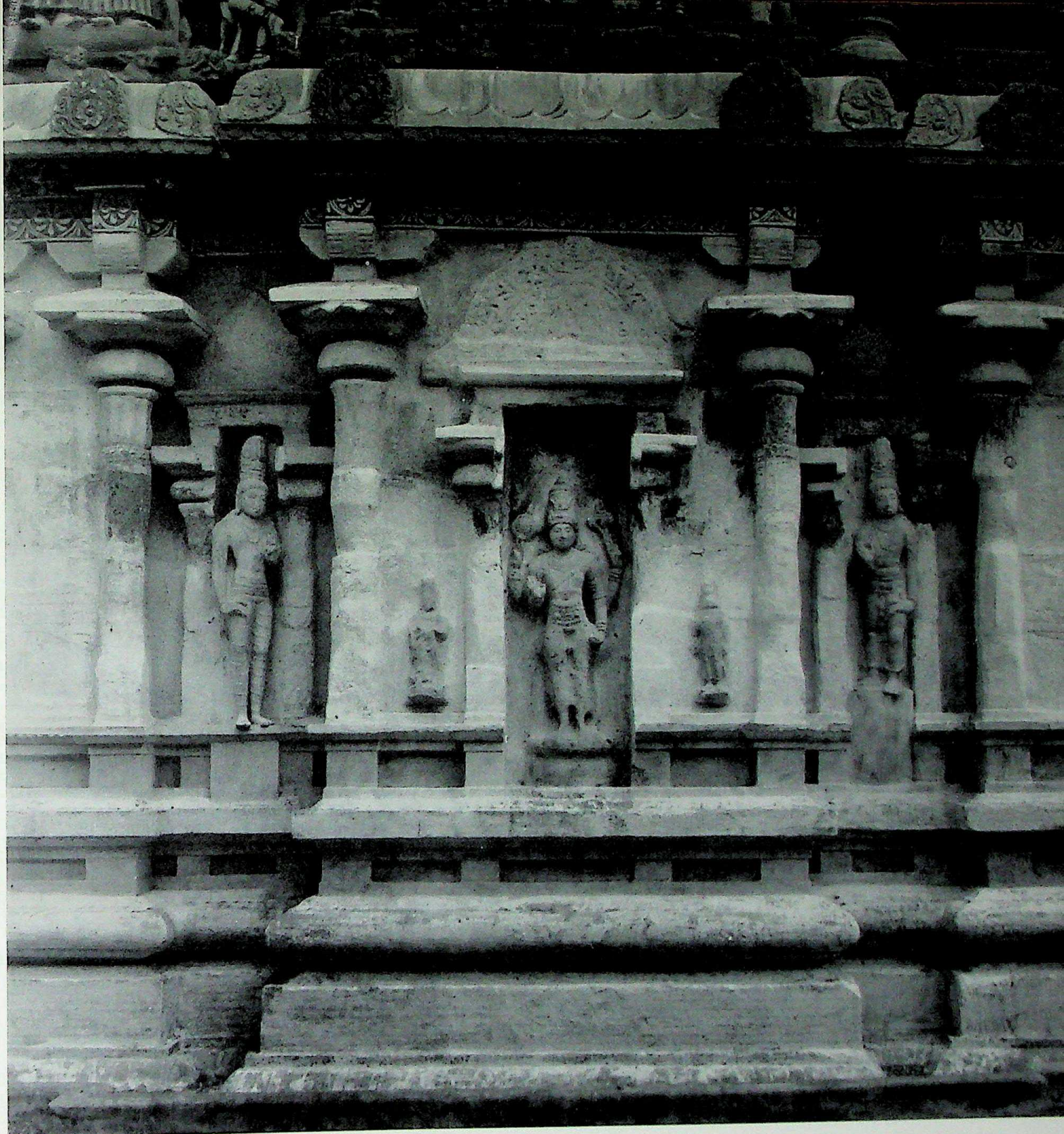
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

53. Agastyesvara Temple at Anangur. Third Phase *See page 93*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



54. Vriddhagirisvara Temple at Vriddhachalam. Third Phase *See page 94*



55. Kailasanatha Temple at Sembiyan Mahadevi. Third Phase *See page 94*

56. Kailasanatha Temple at Sembiyan Mahadevi. Third Phase *See page 94*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

57. Kailasanatha Temple at Sembiyan Mahadevi. Third Phase *See page 94*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

58. Kailasanatha Temple at Sembiyan Mahadevi. Third Phase *See page 94*

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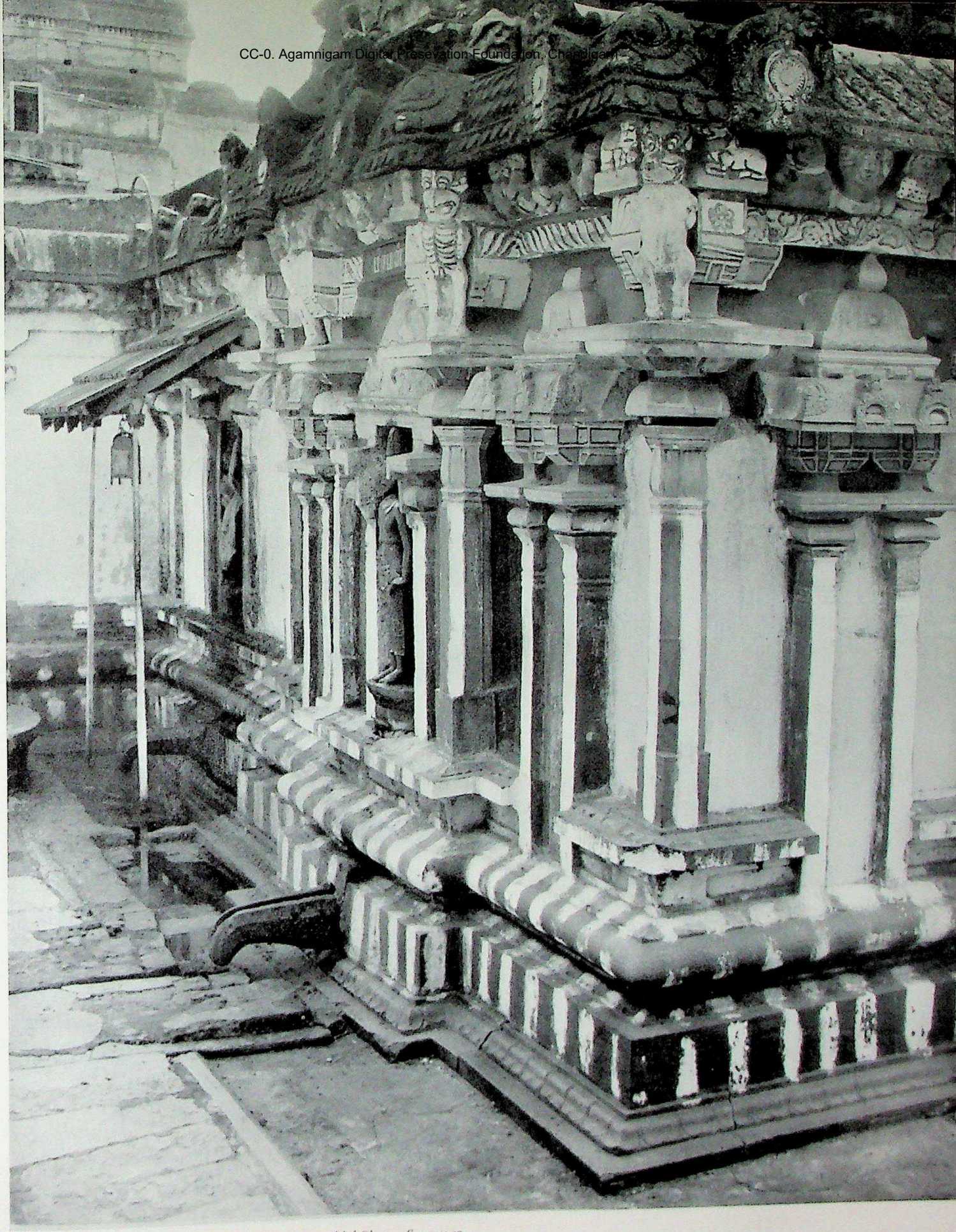
59. Gangajatadhara Temple at Govindapuṭṭur. Third Phase *See page 96*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

60. Gangajatadhara Temple at Govindapuntur. Third Phase *See page 96*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

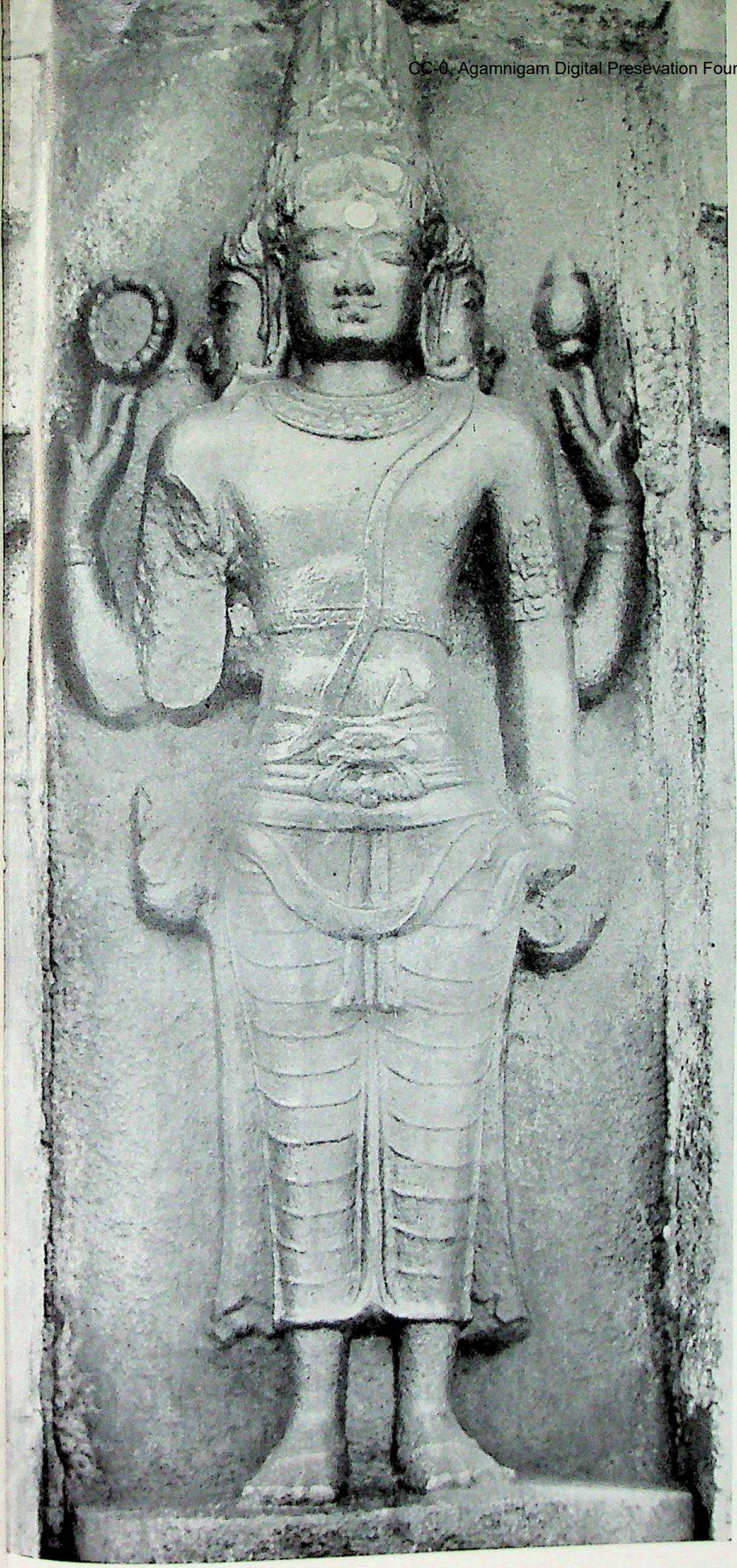


61. Tiru-Alandurai-Mahadeva Temple at Kilappaluvur. Third Phase *See page 97*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

62. Tiru-Alandurai-Mahadeva Temple at Kilappaluvur. Third Phase *See page 98*

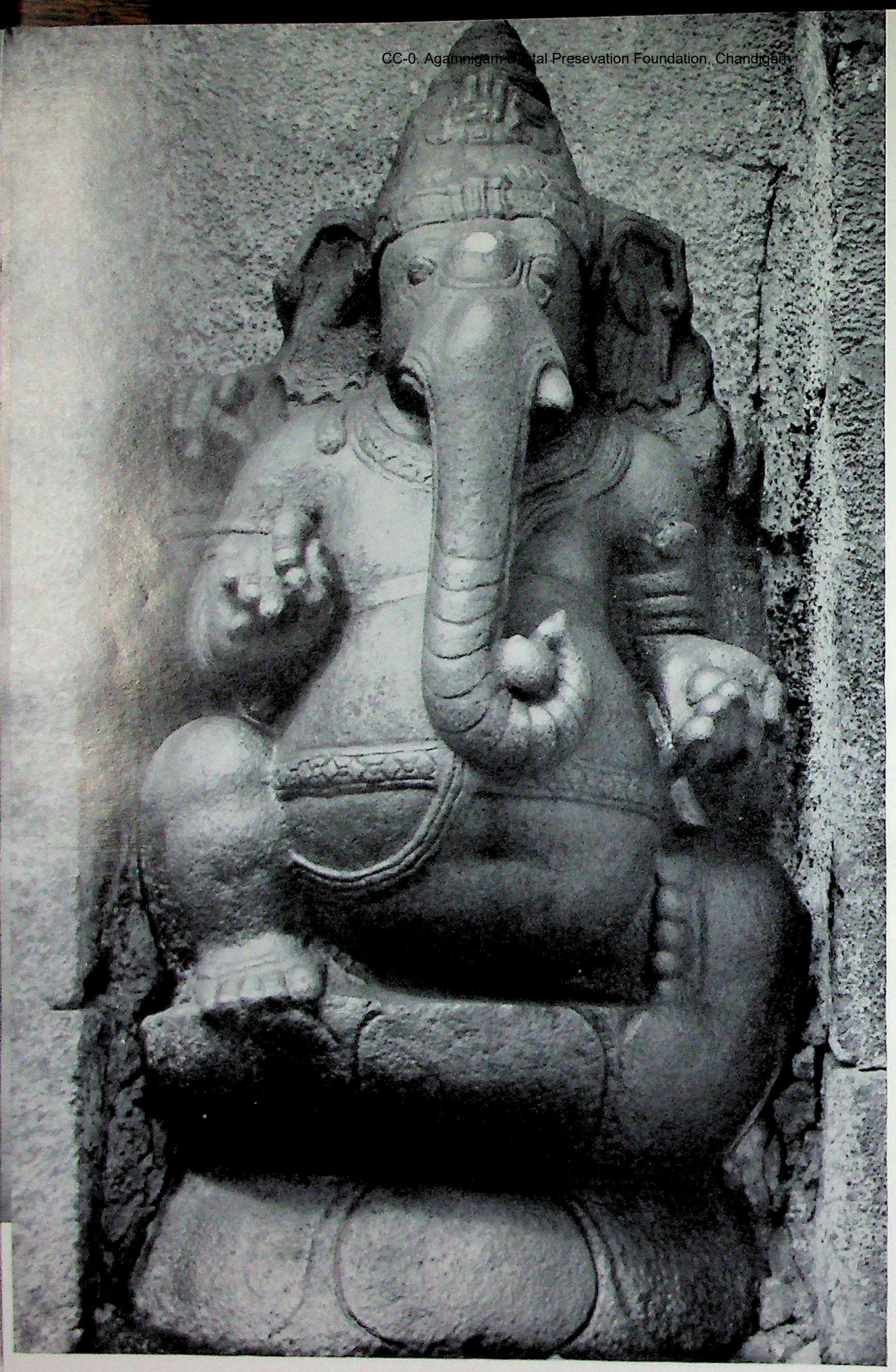
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Jammu and Kashmir



(b) Tiru-Alandurai-Mahadeva Temple at Kilappaluvur.
Third Phase *See page 98*

63. (a) Tiru-Alandurai-Mahadeva Temple at Kilappaluvur.
Third Phase *See page 98*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

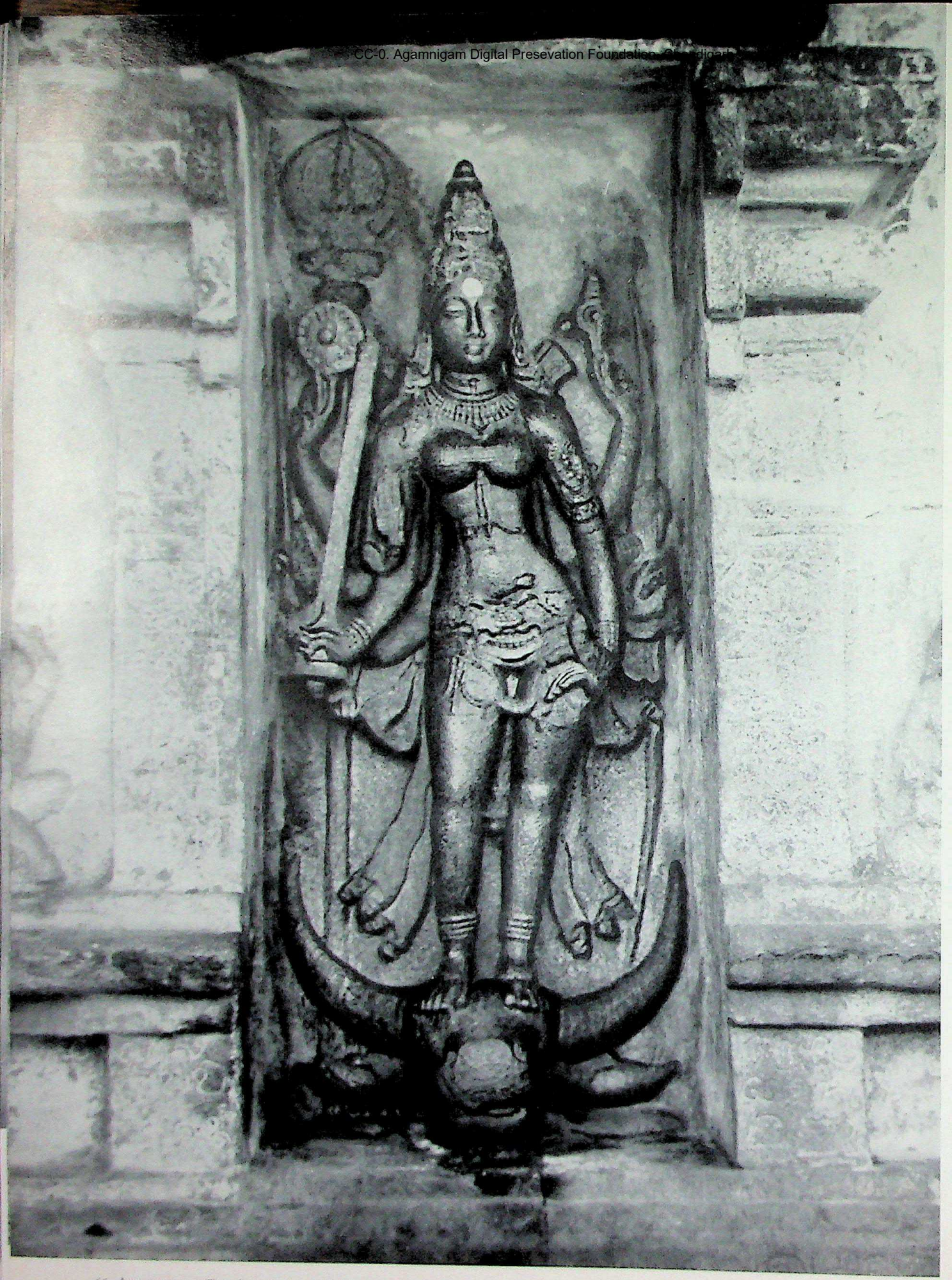


64. Tiru-Alandurai-Mahadeva Temple at Kilappaluvur. Third Phase *See page 98*

CC-0. Agamic Collection. Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

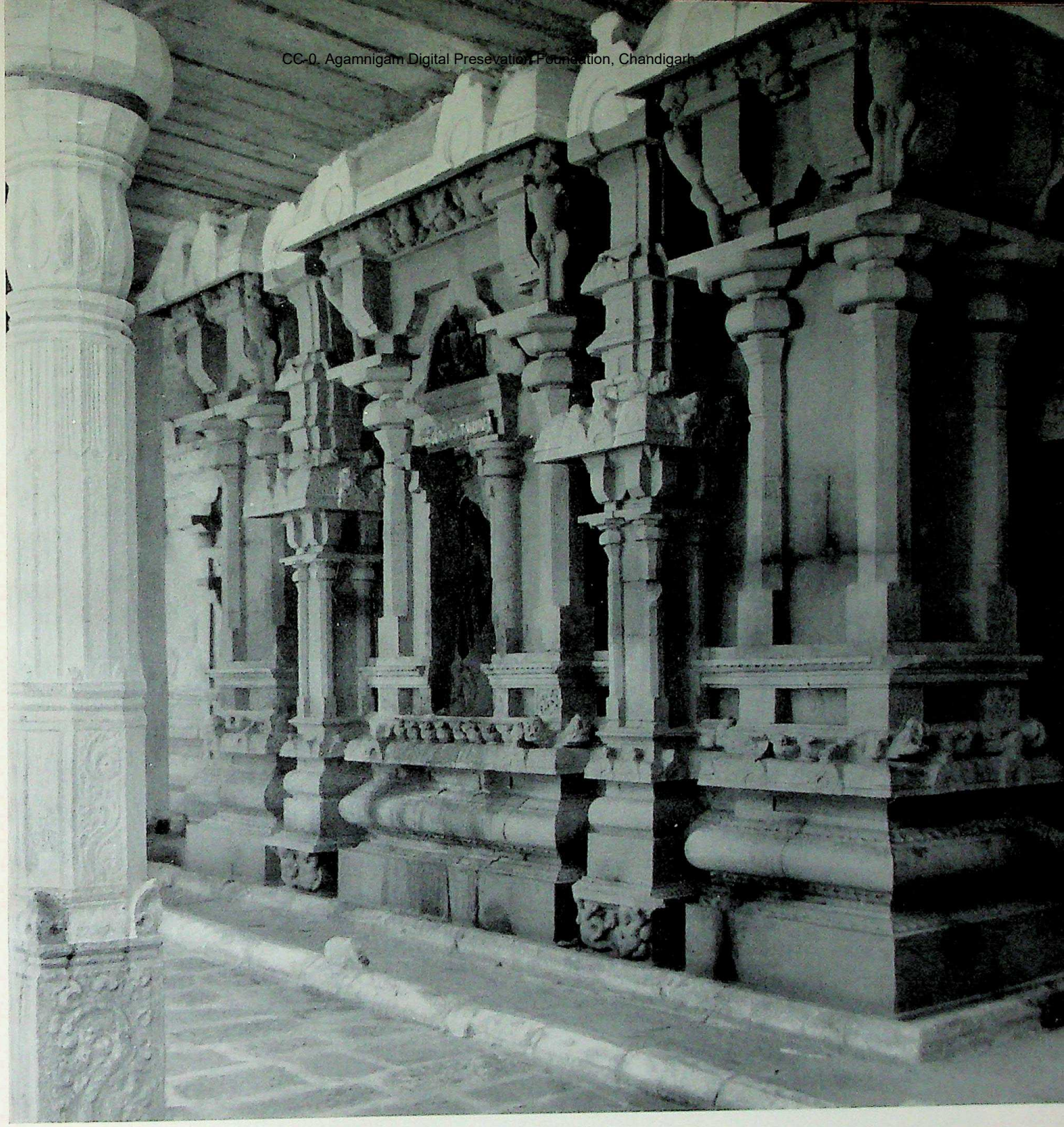
65. Apatsahayesvara Temple at Adutturai. Third Phase *See page 98*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



66. Amravanesvara Temple at Kuhur. Third Phase *See page 100*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



67. Sakshisvara Temple at Tiruppurambiyam. Third Phase *See page 104*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

68. Sakshisvara Temple at Tiruppurambiyam. Third Phase *See page 104*

69. Mayuranathasvami Temple at Mayavaram. Third Phase *See page 105*

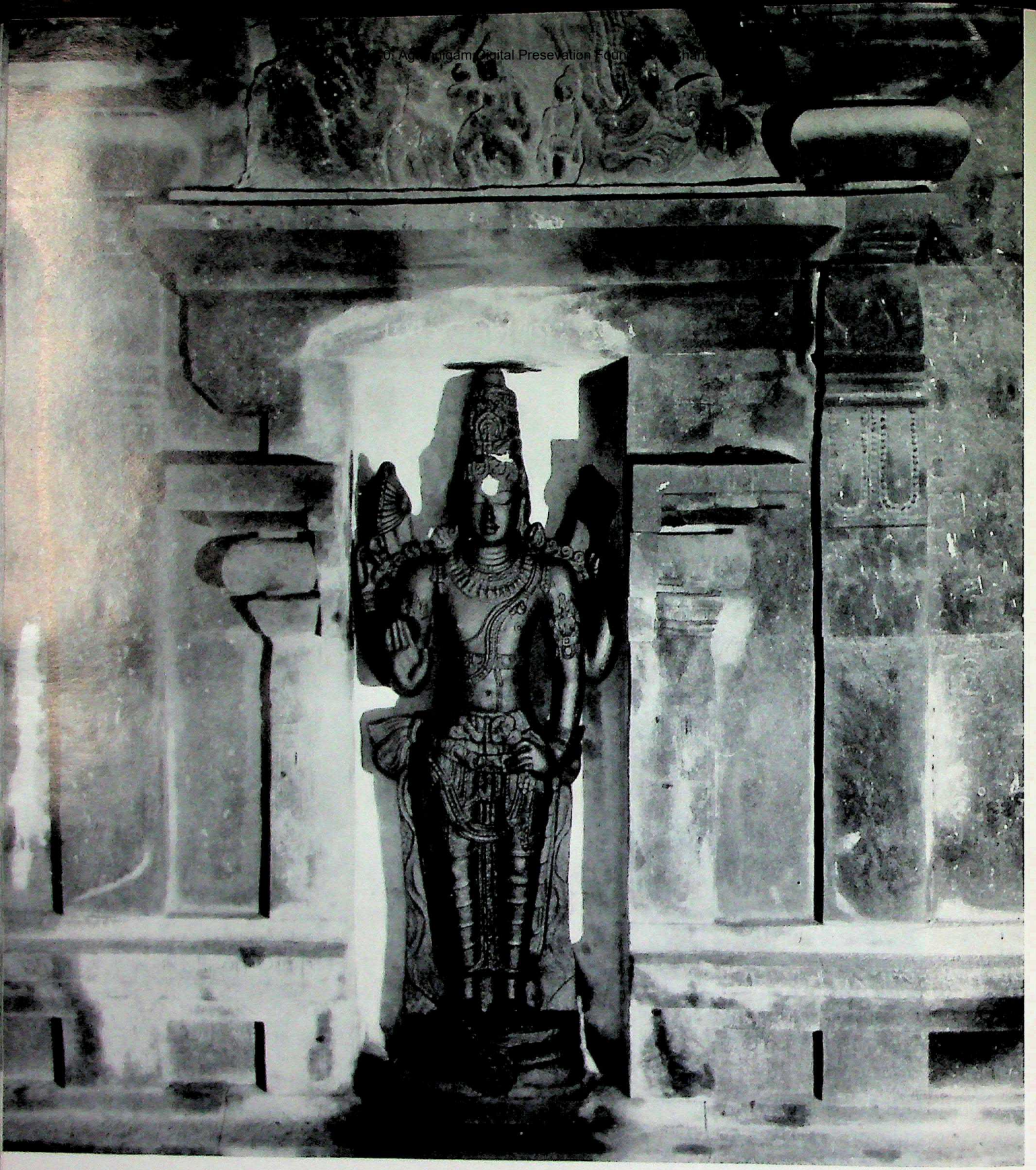
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation

70. Mayuranathasvami Temple at Mayavaram. Third Phase *See page 105*

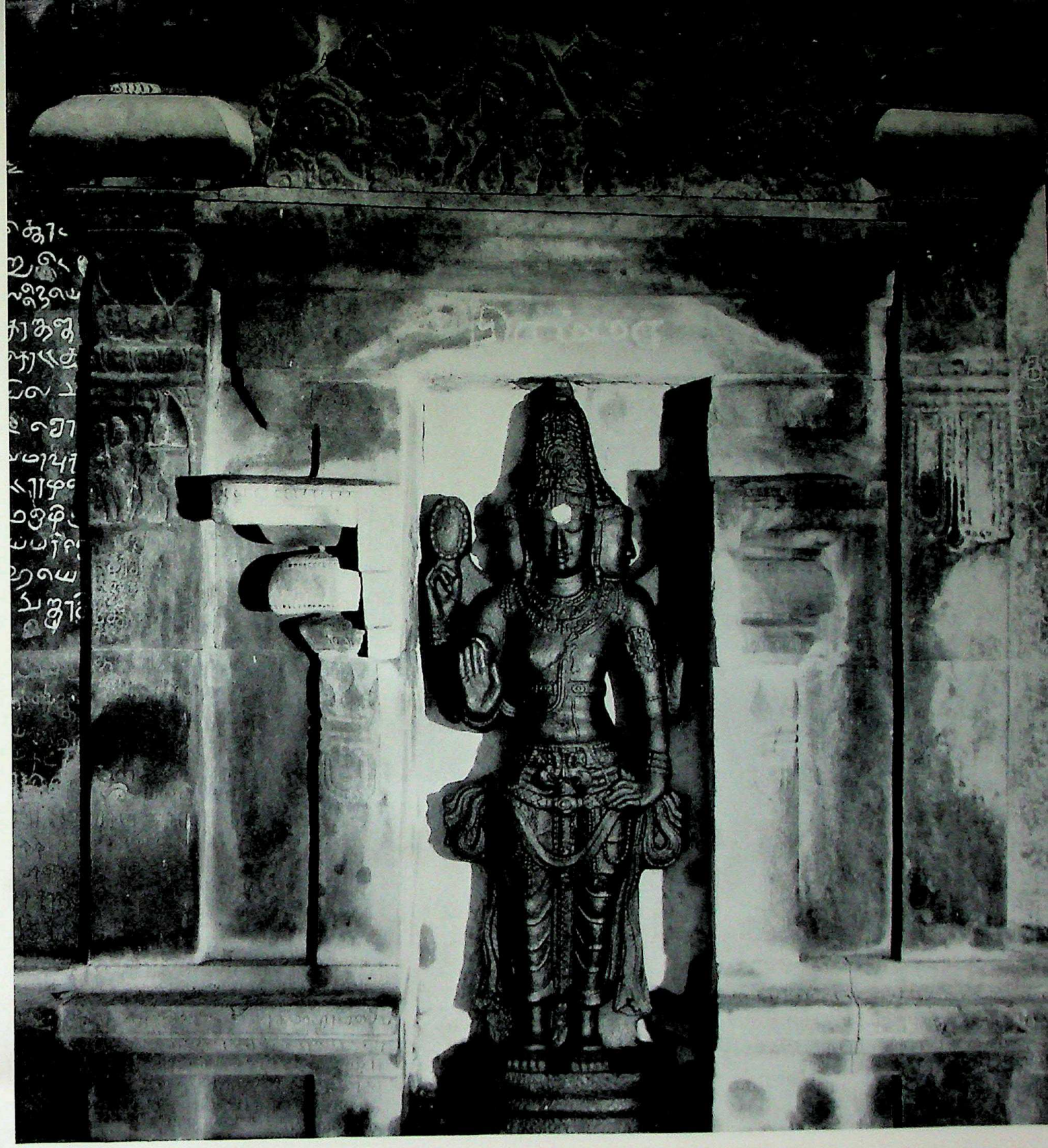
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

71. Bilvanathesvara Temple at Tiruvallam. Third Phase *See page 106*

CC-0. Agamic Digital Presevation Foundation, Chennai



72. Bilvanathesvara Temple at Tiruvallam. Third Phase *See page 106*



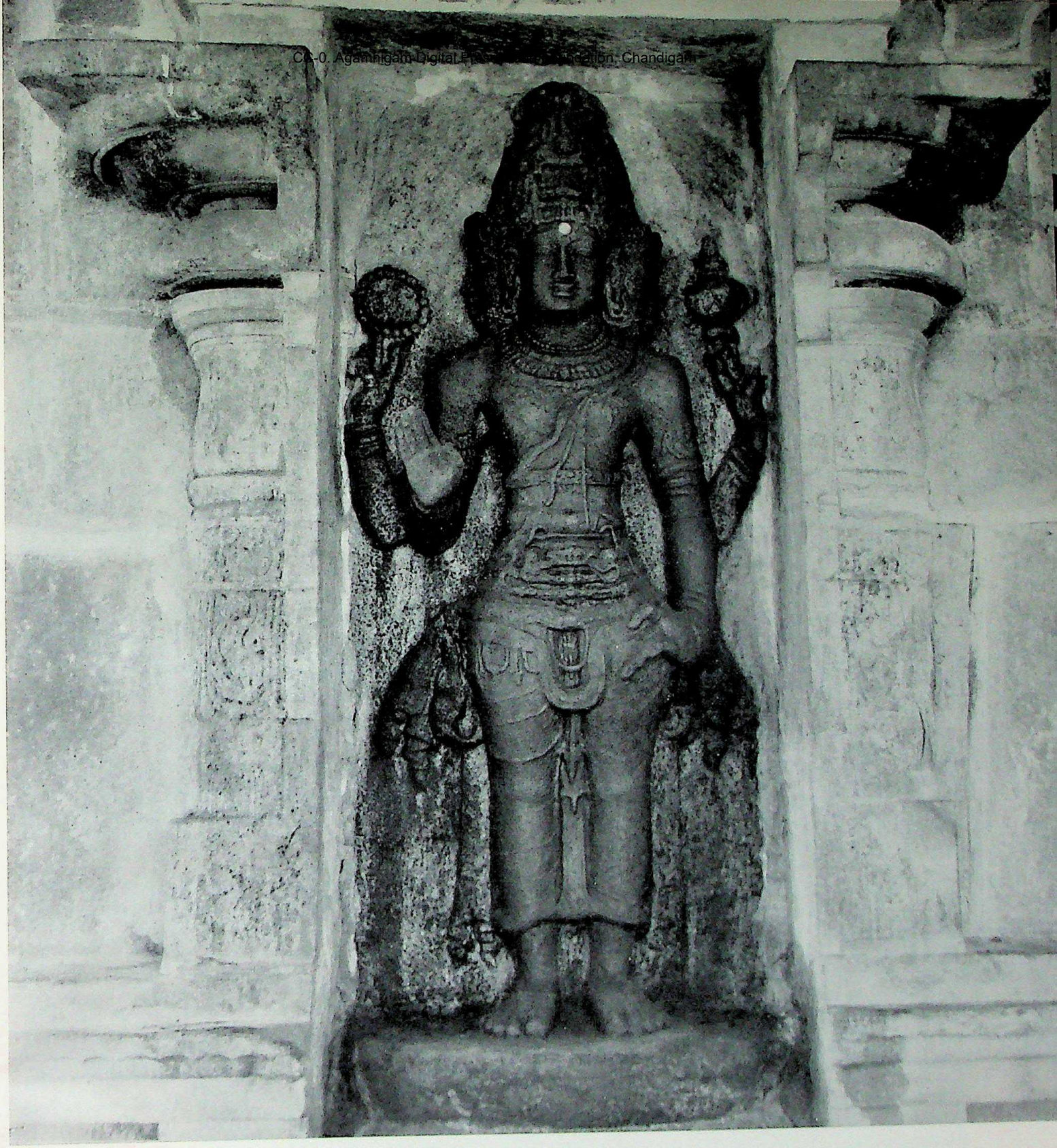
73. Bilvanathesvara Temple at Tiruvallam. Third Phase *See page 106*

CC-0. Agamp dation, Chandigarh

74. (a) Bilvanathesvara Temple at Tiruvallam. Third Phase *See page 106*

(b) Bilvanathesvara Temple at Tiruvallam. Third Phase
See page 106

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh



75. Siddhanathasvami Temple at Tirunaraiyur. Third Phase *See page 109*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

76. Siddhanathaswami Temple at Tirunaraiyur. Third Phase *See page 109*

CC-0. Jangamwadi Math Digital Preservation Foundation. Chennai.

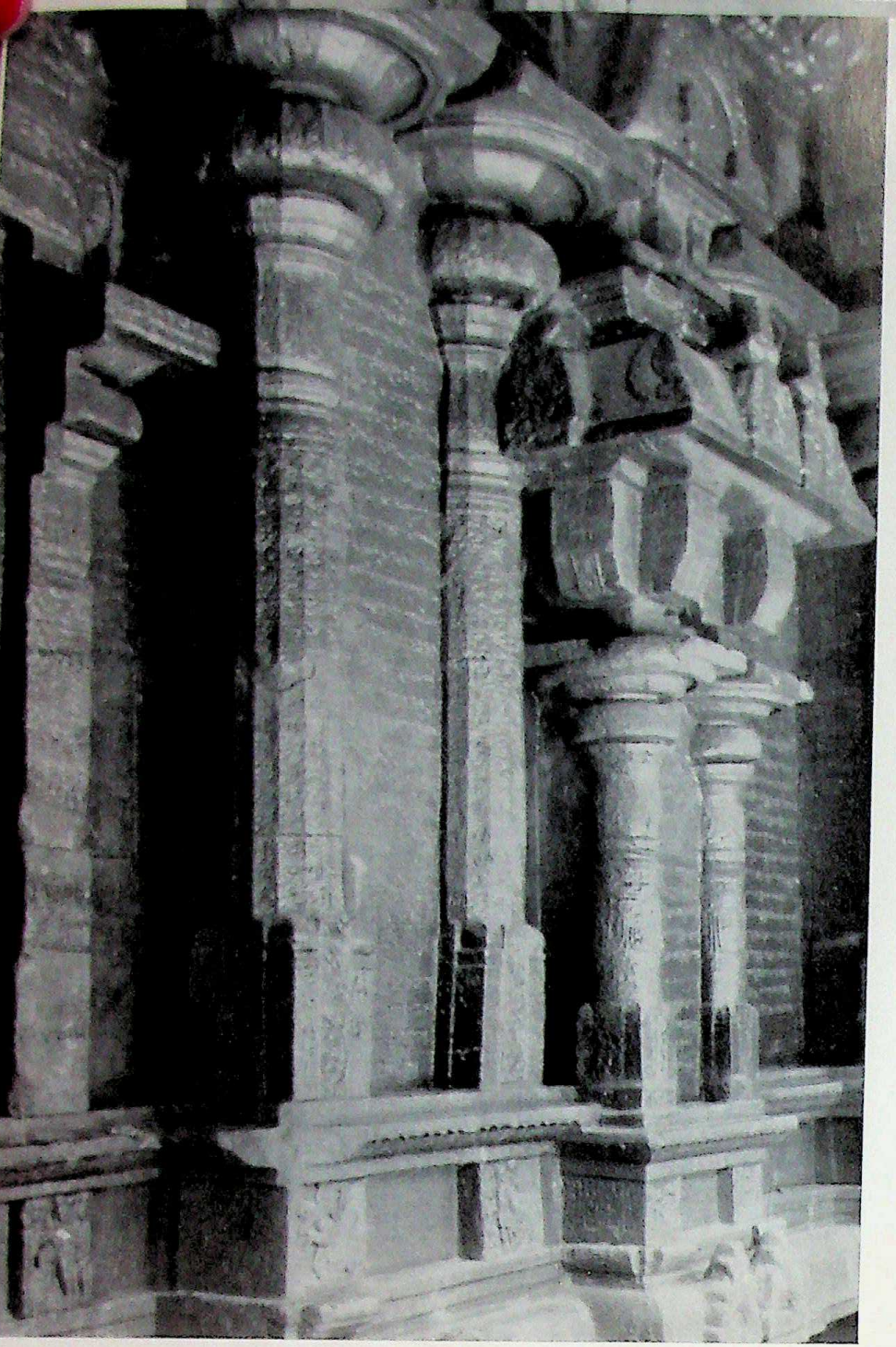
77 . Achalesvara Shrine at Tiruvarur. Third Phase *See page 110*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

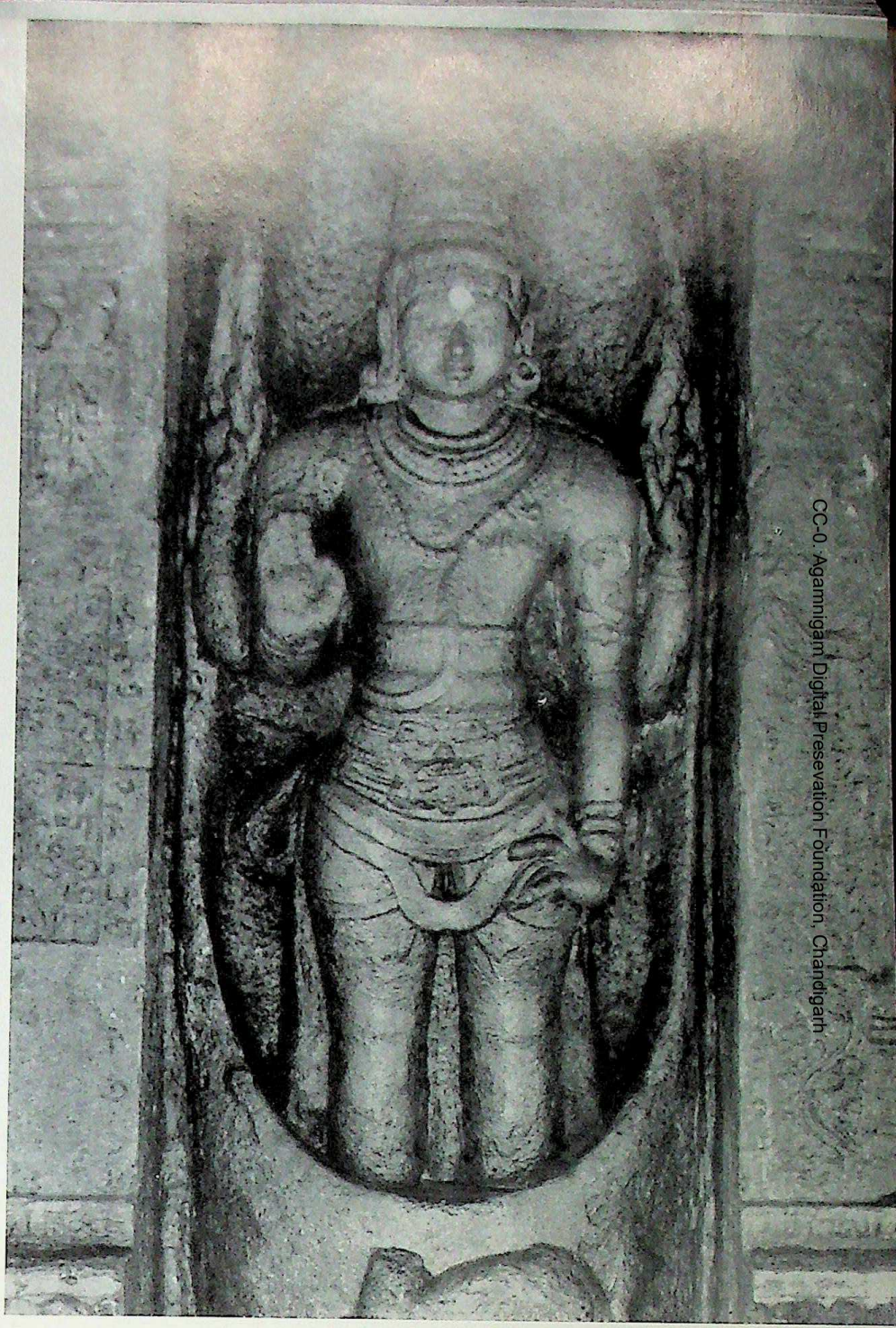
78. Achalesvara Shrine at Tiruvarur. Third Phase *See page 111*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

79. Achalesvara Shrine at Tiruvarur. Third Phase *See page 111*

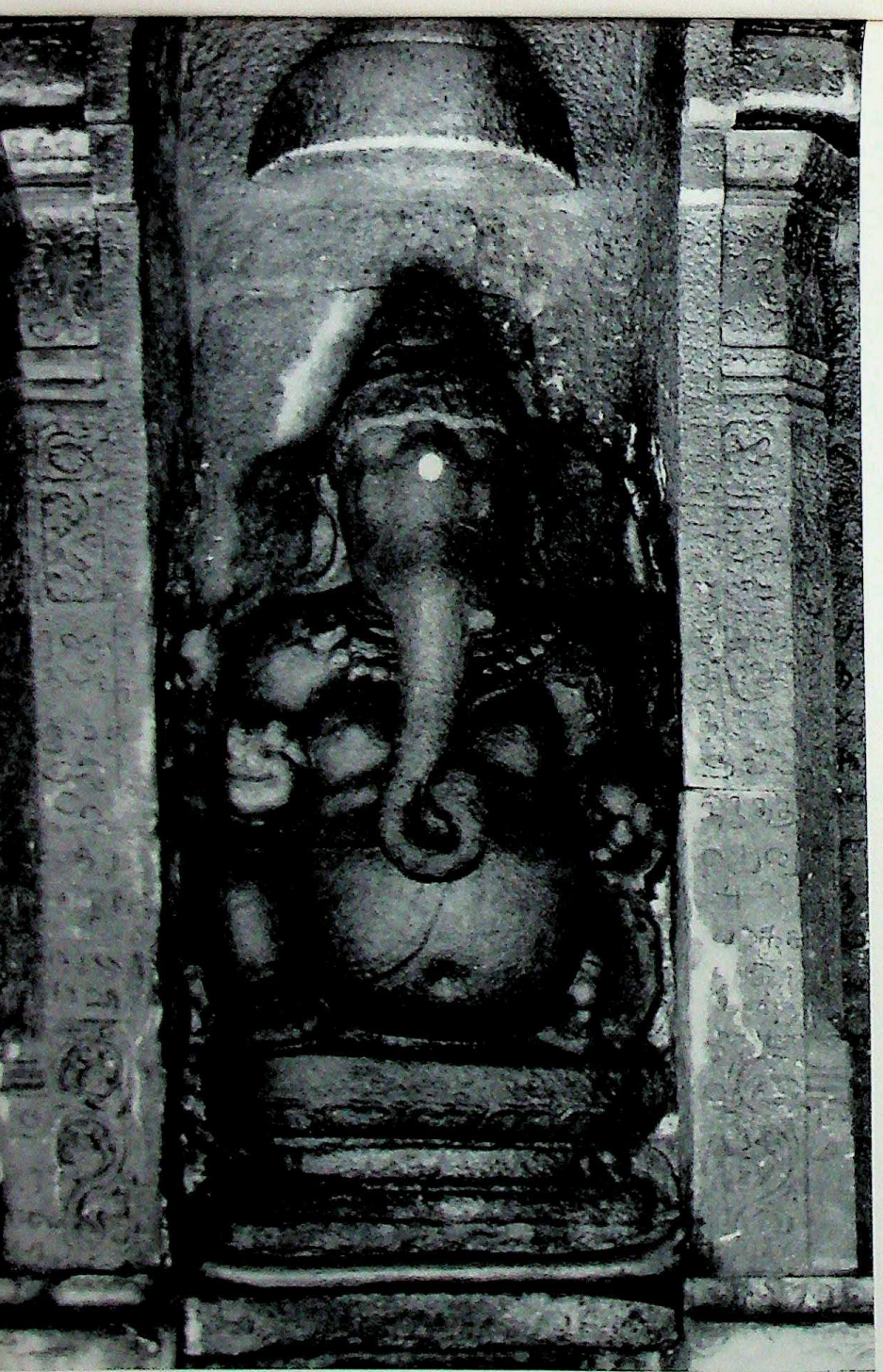


80. (a) Uktavedisvara Temple at Kuttalam. Third Phase *See page 111*



(b) Uktavedisvara Temple at Kuttalam. Third Phase *See page 111*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



81. (a) Uktavedisvara Temple at Kuttalam. Third Phase *See page 111*

(b) Uktavedisvara Temple at Kuttalam. Third Phase *See page 111*

CC-0. Vasantham Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

82. Uktavedisvara Temple at Kuttalam. Third Phase *See page 111*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital

83. Svarnapurisvara Temple at Alagadriputtur. Third Phase *See page 112*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digit digarh

84. Svarnapurisvara Temple at Alagadriputtur. Third Phase *See page 112*

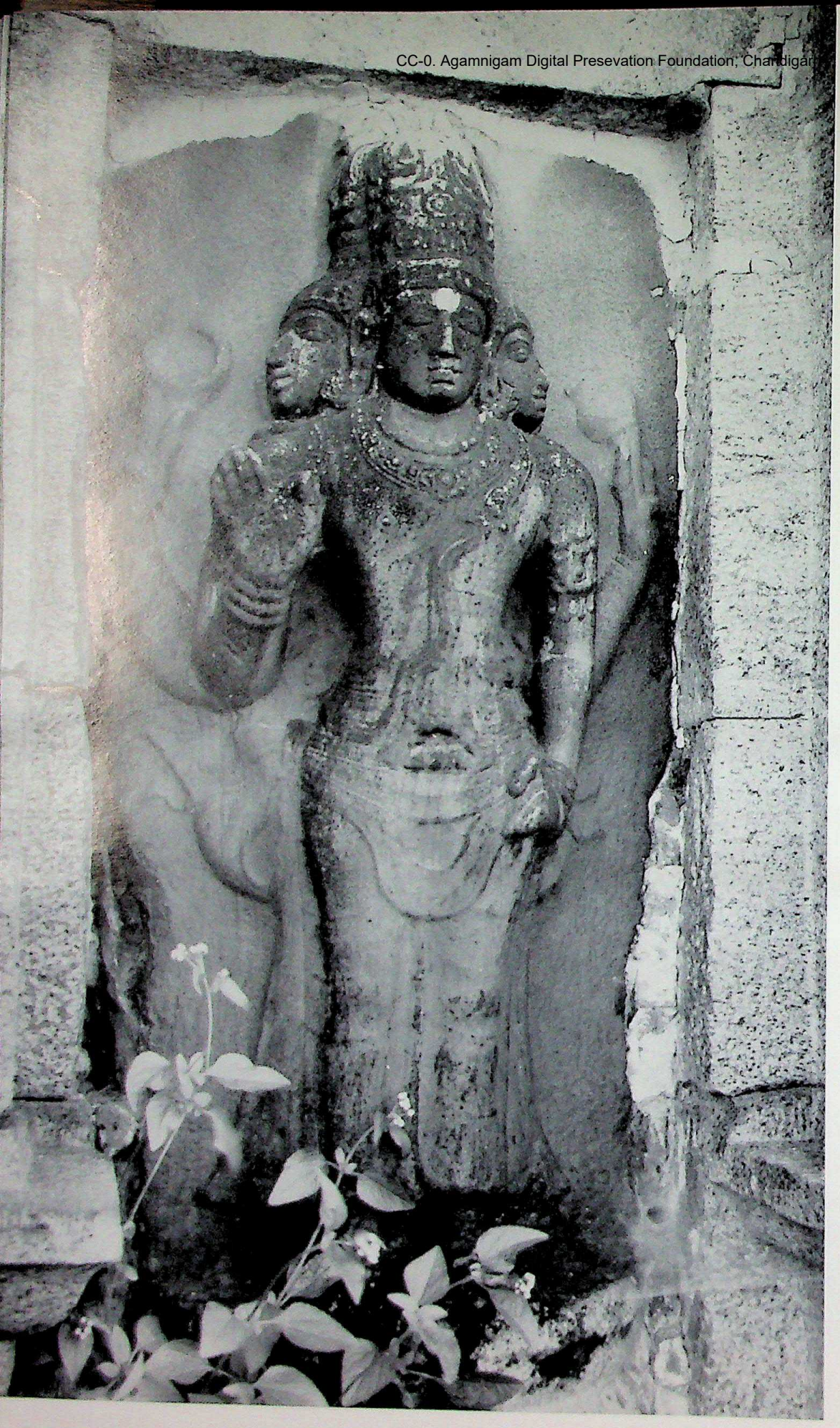
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

85. Uttara Kailasa at Tiruvaiyaru. Third Phase *See page 112*

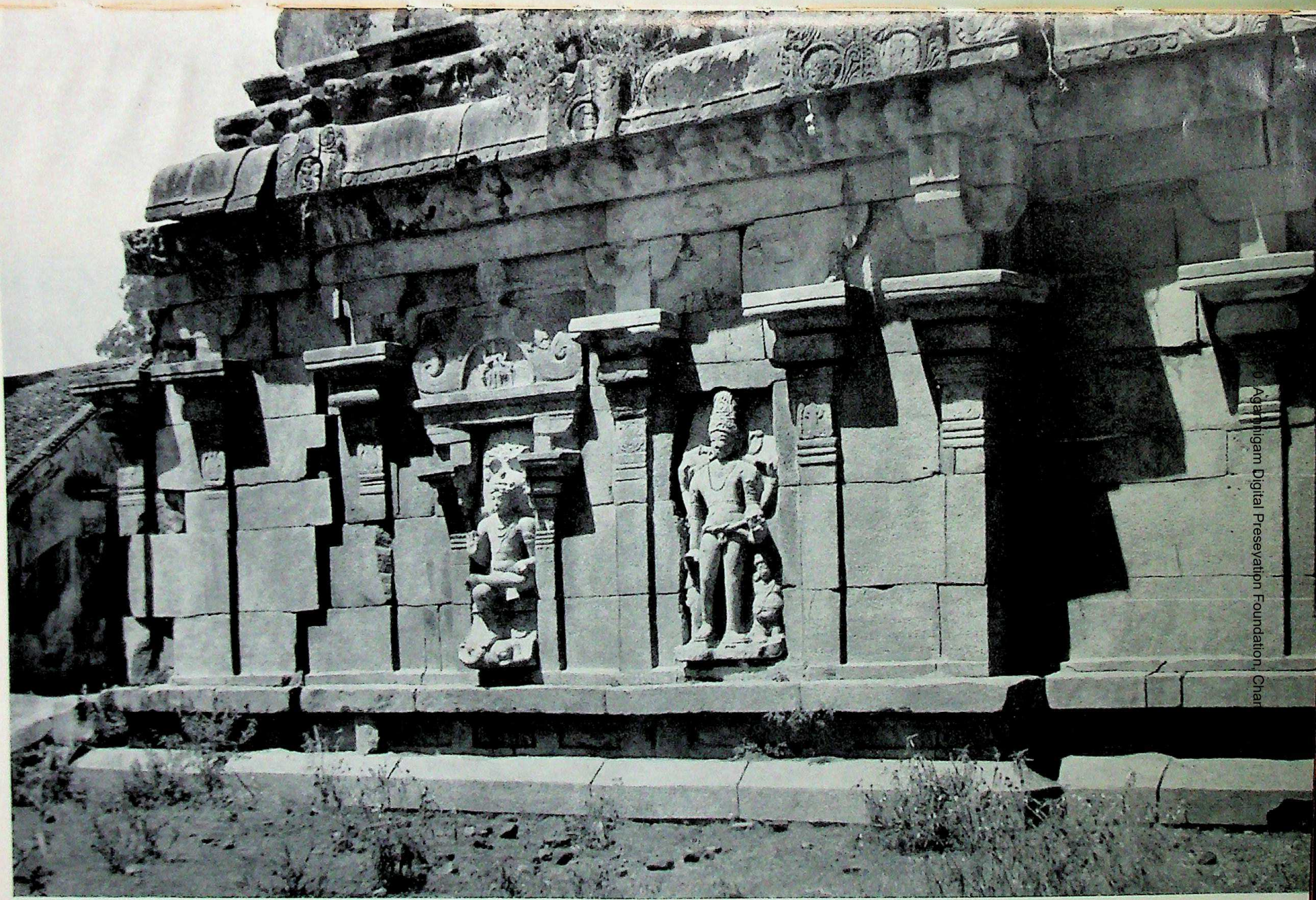
86. Uttara Kailasa at Tiruvaiyaru. Third Phase *See page 112*

87. Karkotakesvara Temple at Kamarasavalli. Third Phase *See page 113*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



88. Karkotakesvara Temple at Kamarasavalli. Third Phase *See page 113*



89. Siva Temple at Olagapuram. Third Phase *See page 114*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevatipn Foundation, Char

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

96. Siva Temple at Olagapuram. Third Phase *See page 114*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation

91. Siva Temple at Olagapuram. Third Phase *See page 114*

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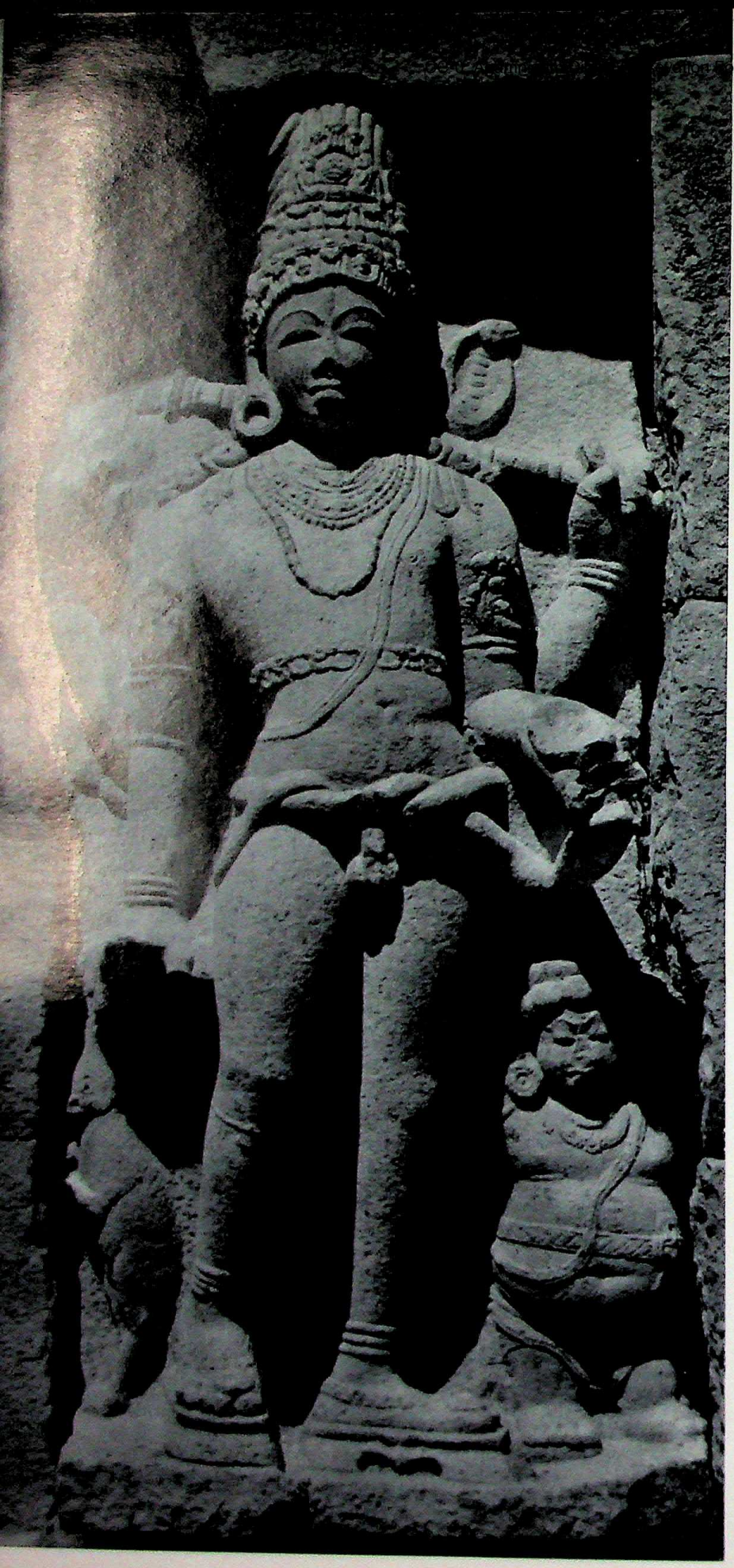

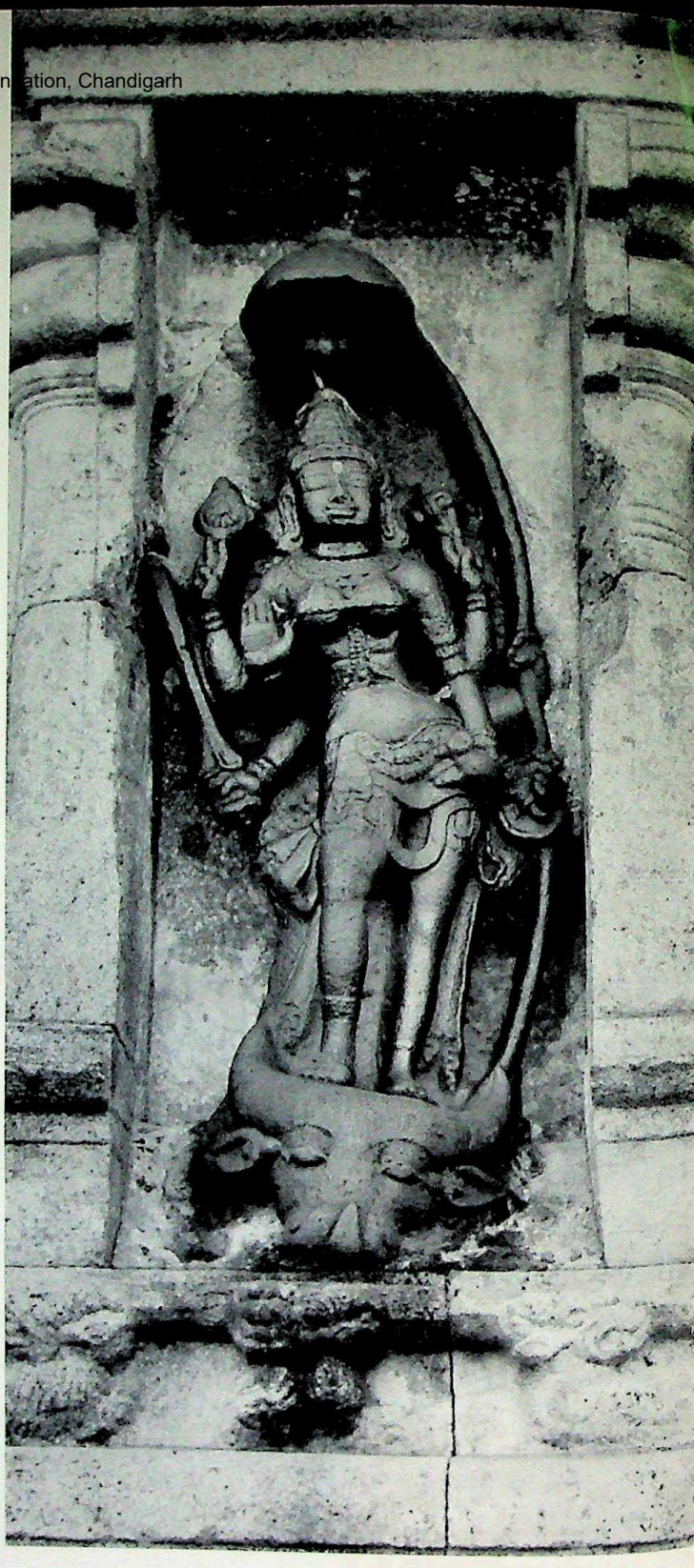

(b) Siva Temple at Dadapuram. Third Phase *See page 117*

92. (a) Siva Temple at Olagapuram. Third Phase *See page 114*

93. Siva Temple at Dadapuram. Third Phase *See page 116*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation

94. Colesvara Temple at Melpadi. Third Phase *See page 118*

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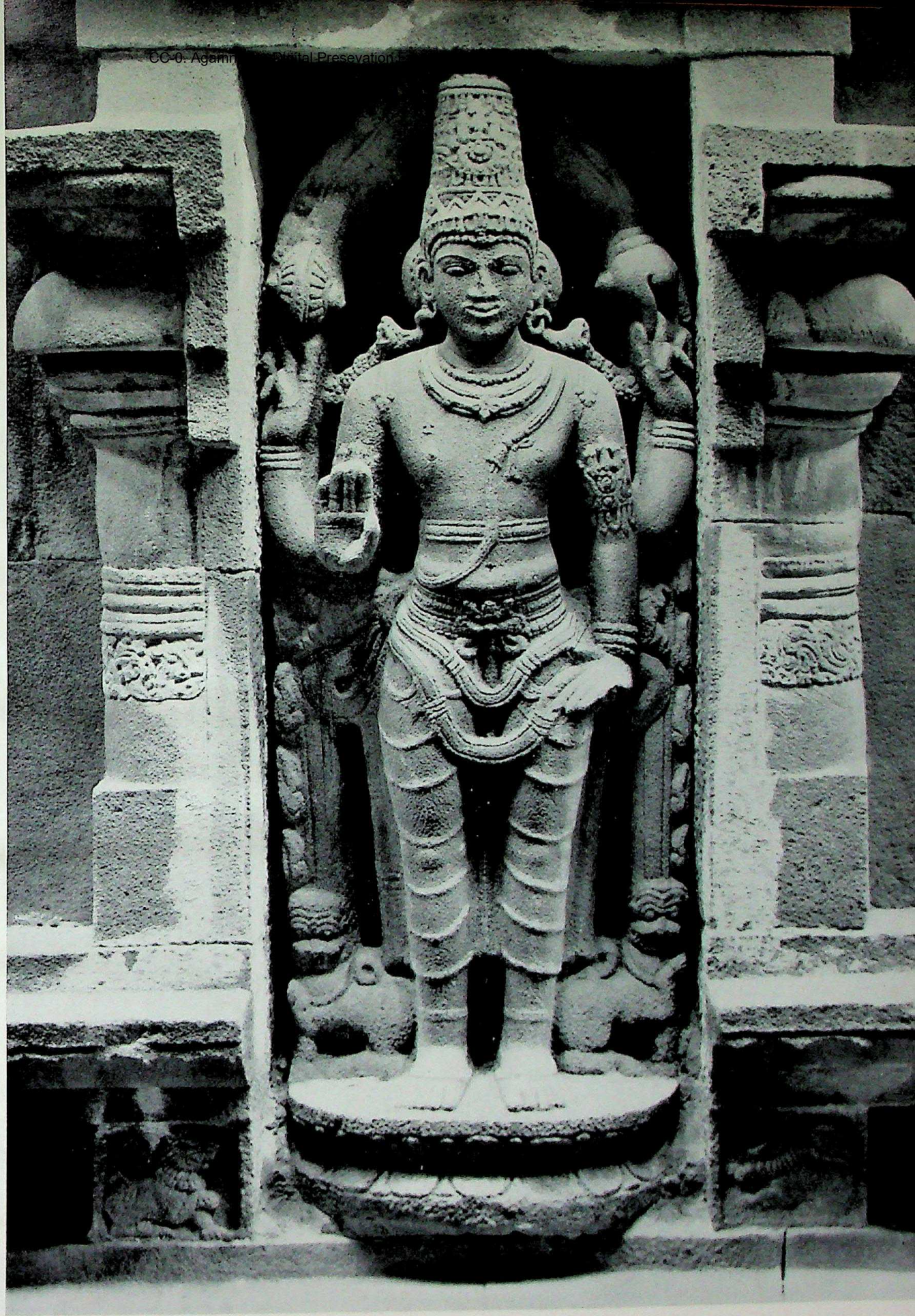

95. Coleswara Temple at Melpadi. Third Phase *See page 118*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

96. Nilakanthesvara Temple at Laddigam. About 1086 A.D. *See page 119*

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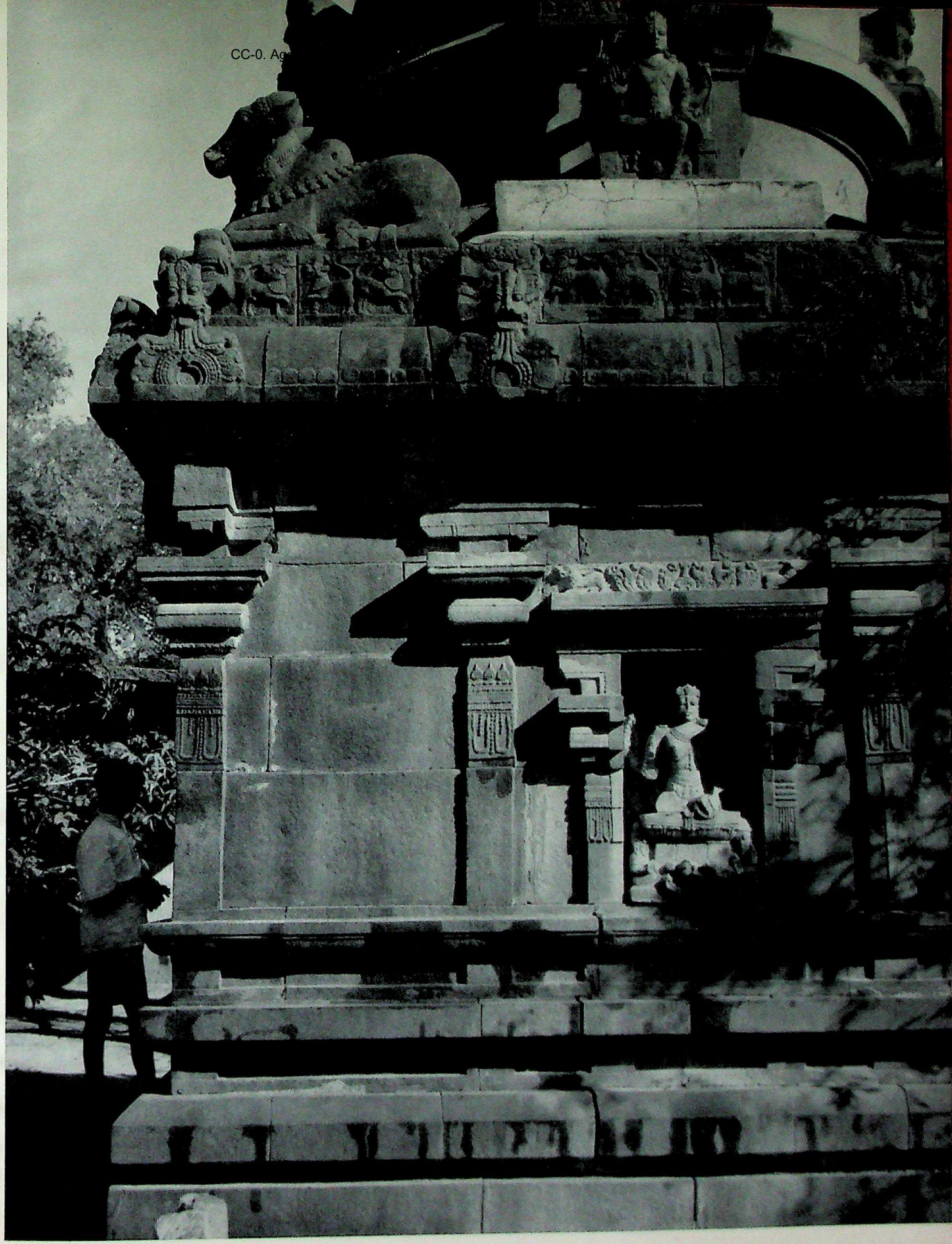
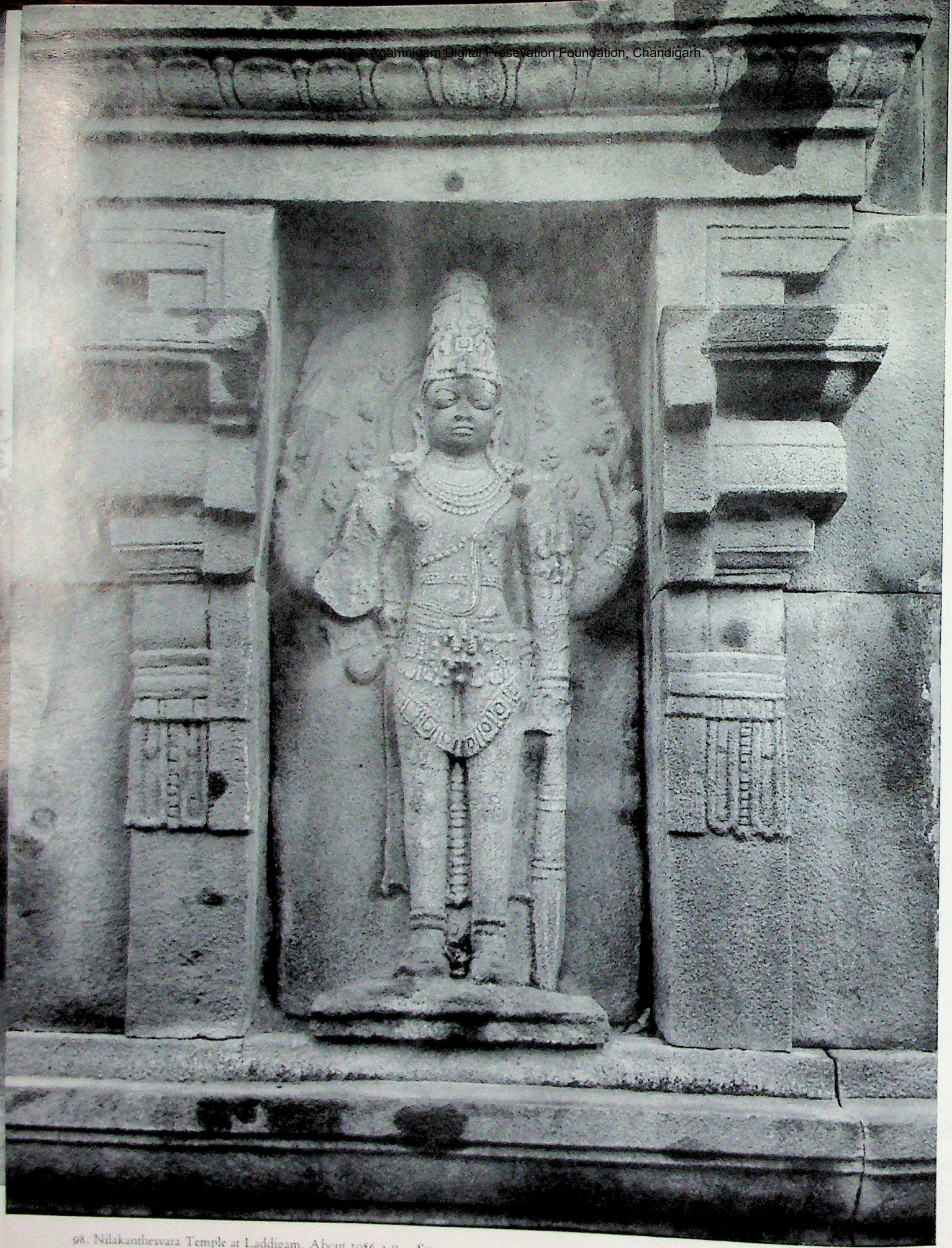


97. Nilakanthesvara Temple at Laddigam. About 1086 A.D. *See page 119*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh



98. Nilakantheswara Temple at Laddigam. About 1086 A.D. *See page 119*

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99. Nilakanthesvara Temple at Laddigam. About 1086 A.D. *See page 119*

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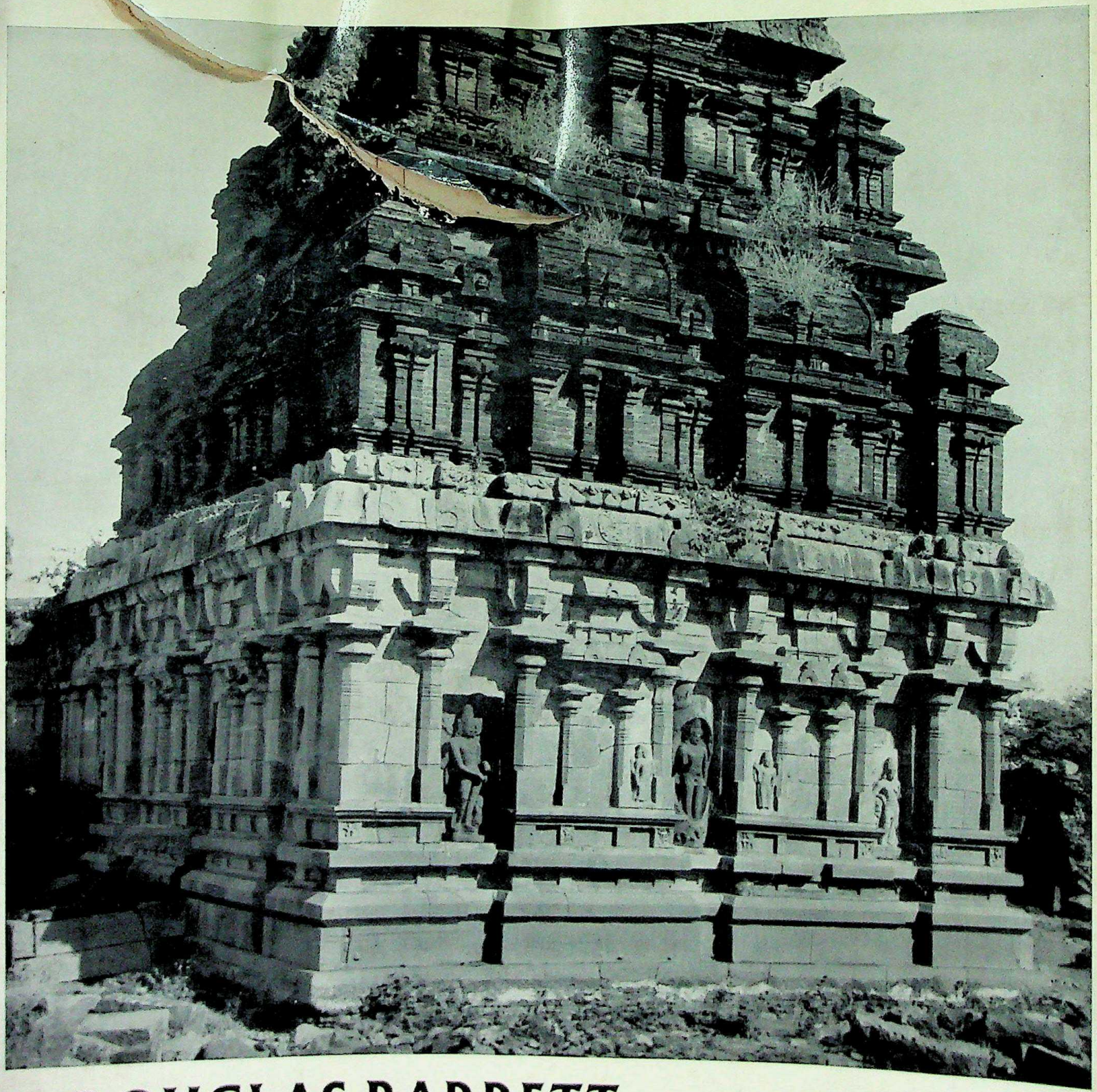
Early Cola Architecture & Sculpture 866-1014 AD



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